

THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED  
By VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY  
F MAX MULLER  
—

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- 35 36 THE QUESTIONS OF KING MILINDA : in 2 vols : T W  
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- 42 HYMNS OF THE ATHARVA VEDA M Bloomfield
- 48 THE VEDĀNTA-SŪTRAS with Rāmanuja's Śrībhāṣya G Thibaut,
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- 50 INDEX M tr

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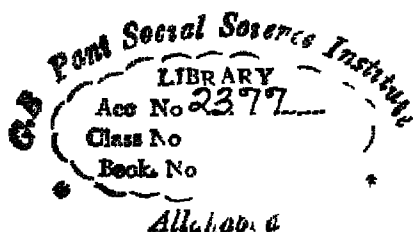
TRANSLATED FROM PĀLI  
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T W RHYS DAVIDS

PART II

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I am very glad to know that the Sacred Books of the East published years ago by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, which have been out of print for a number of years, will now be available to all students of religion and philosophy. The enterprise of the publishers is commendable and I hope the books will be widely read.

S RADHAKRISHNAN

## PREFATORY NOTE TO THE NEW EDITION

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Since 1948 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) upon the recommendation of the General Assembly of the United Nations has been concerned with facilitating the translation of the works most representative of the culture of certain of its Member States and in particular, those of Asia

One of the major difficulties confronting this programme is the lack of translators having both the qualifications and the time to undertake translations of the many outstanding books meriting publication. To help overcome this difficulty in part UNESCO's advisers in this field (a panel of experts convened every other year by the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies) have recommended that many worthwhile translations published during the 19th century and now impossible to find except in a limited number of libraries should be brought back into print in low priced editions for the use of students and of the general public. The experts also pointed out that in certain cases, even though there might be in existence more recent and more accurate translations endowed with a more modern apparatus of scholarship a number of pioneer works of the greatest value and interest to students of Eastern religions also merited republication.

This point of view was warmly endorsed by the Indian National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Akademi) and the Indian National Commission for UNESCO.

It is in the spirit of these recommendations that this work from the famous series *Sacred Books of the East* is now once again being made available to the general public as part of the UNESCO Collection of Representative Works.

## PUBLISHER S NOTE

First the man distinguished between eternal and perishable. Later he discovered within himself the germ of the Eternal. This discovery was an epoch in the history of the human mind and the *East was the first to discover it*.

To watch in the Sacred Books of the East the dawn of this religious consciousness of man must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world. In order to have a solid foundation for a comparative study of the Religions of the East, we must have before all things complete and thoroughly faithful translation of their Sacred Books in which some of the ancient sayings were preserved because they were so true and so striking that they could not be forgotten. They contained eternal truths expressed for the first time in human language.

With profoundest reverence for Dr S Radhakrishnan President of India, who inspired us for the task, our deep sense of gratitude for Dr C D Deshmukh & Dr D S Kothari, for encouraging assistance, esteemed appreciation of UNESCO for the warm endorsement of the cause, and finally with indebtedness to Dr H Rau Director Max Muller Bhawan New Delhi in procuring us the texts of the Series for reprint, we humbly conclude



# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	AGE
Chinese books on Nâgasena	xi
The Buddhist canon	xv
Vasubandhu's reference to Nagasena	xvii
Kshemendra's reference to Milinda	xvii
The Mahāvamsa on Assagutta and Vattaniya	xviii
The Kathā Vatthu	xx
Milinda and other authorities on the soul theory	xxi
The Milinda later than the Katha Vatthu	xxvi

---

## TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

### Book IV The Solving of Dilemmas

41st Dilemma Why should houses (Vihâras) be built for the houseless ones?	1
42nd Dilemma. Was not the Buddha immoderate in food?	4
43rd Dilemma. Was not Bakkula said to be superior (in health) to the Buddha?	8
44th Dilemma. Why is the Buddha's teaching called both new and old?	13
45th Dilemma Did not the Bodisat once kill animals in sacrifice?	16
46th Dilemma. Did not the Bodisat once abuse the Buddha?	20
47th Dilemma Was not Kassapa the Buddha less powerful than the potter?	23
48th Dilemma. Why is the Buddha called both Brahman and king?	25
49th Dilemma Did not the Buddha teach for hire?	31
50th Dilemma. Did not the Buddha once doubt? (See No 34)	38

- 
- 51st Dilemma Was not the Buddha taught by others?
- 52nd Dilemma Why can there be only one Buddha at a time?
- 53rd Dilemma Did not the Buddha put the Order above himself?
- 54th Dilemma As a layman can reach Arahatship why enter the Order?
- 55th Dilemma Did not the Buddha, having tried and abandoned asceticism nevertheless still insist on it?
- 56th Dilemma Men sometimes throw off the robes Why not test candidates before initiation?
- 57th Dilemma. How is it that Arahats suffer bodily pain?
- 58th Dilemma Why cannot an offender who is not aware of his offence enter the Path
- 59th Dilemma How can a guilty Samana purify gifts?
- 60th Dilemma The soul in water
- 61st Dilemma. Why does the Order trouble itself about learning and about buildings and gifts?
- 62nd Dilemma Why cannot a layman, who can become an Arahats continue as one?
- 63rd Dilemma. How is it that an Arahats can do wrong?
- 64th Dilemma What is there that is but not in the world?
- 65th Dilemma. What is here that is without a cause?
- 66th Dilemma Karma born cause-born and season born
- 67th Dilemma. What becomes of dead devils?
- 68th Dilemma Why did not the Buddha promulgate all the Rules of the Order at once?
- 69th Dilemma How does the sun get cool?
- 70th Dilemma Why is the sun hotter in winter?
- 71st Dilemma. How can Vessantara's giving away of his children be approved?
- 72nd Dilemma Why did the Bodhisat undergo penance?
- 73rd Dilemma. Which is stronger, virtue or vice?
- 74th Dilemma Do the dead derive advantage from gifts given here?
- 75th Dilemma. Dreams and sleep
- 76th Dilemma. Is death ever premature?

	AGE
77th Dilemma. How can there be wonders at the graves of Arahats?	174
78th Dilemma. Cannot all men be converted?	176
79th Dilemma. Is Nirvāṇa all bliss or partly pain?	181
80th Dilemma. The form, figure duration, &c of Nirvāṇa	186
81st Dilemma. The realisation of Nirvāṇa	195
82nd Dilemma. The place of Nirvāṇa	202
Book V The Problem of Inference	
§ 1 How can you know that the Buddha ever lived?	206
4 The ordinary city and its architect, shops and inhabitants	208
5 The City of Righteousness, and its architect	211
6 The flower bazaar therein	212
7 The perfume bazaar therein	214
8 The fruit bazaar therein	215
10 The antidote bazaar therein	217
11 The medicine bazaar therein	218
12 The ambrosia bazaar therein	219
13-20 The jewel bazaar therein, and the seven Jewels of the Truth	220
21 The general store bazaar therein	229
22 The inhabitants of the City of Righteousness	231
23 The generals in the City of Righteousness	234
The chaplains in the City of Righteousness	234
The lamplighters in the City of Righteousness	235
The peace-officers in the City of Righteousness	236
The shop keepers in the City of Righteousness	237
The drunkards (1) in the City of Righteousness	238
The watchmen in the City of Righteousness	238
The lawyers and judges in the City of Righteousness	238
The bankers in the City of Righteousness	239
24 The conclusion drawn by inference	240
Book VI The Voluntary Extra Vows	
§ 1 Can laymen attain Nirvāṇa?	244
6 The twenty eight advantages of the vows	251
7 The eighteen good qualities that come from keeping them	252

§ 10	No Arahatship without having kept them	254
12-15	Similes	255
16	He who, being unworthy takes the vows	261
18	He who being worthy takes the vows	264
20	Details of the thirteen extra vows	268
24	The example of Upasena	270
25	The thirty graces of the true recluse	271
26	The example of Sâriputta	273
 Book VII Similes of Arahatship		
§ 1	Detailed list of these similes sixty seven being still preserved and thirty eight being now lost	275
19	Wonders at the conclusion of Nagasena's solution of the three hundred and four puzzles	313
20	Conversion of Milinda the king	373
21	Milinda enters the Order and becomes an Arahat	374
Additions and Corrections		377
Index of Proper Names		379
Index of Subjects		381
 <hr/>		
Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East		385



## INTRODUCTION

I HAVE first to notice a few points as to the history of the *Milinda* book which have either come to light since the former Introduction was written, or which I then omitted to notice

Mr Bunyiu Nanjio in his Catalogue of Chinese Buddhist Books<sup>1</sup> mentions a Chinese book called *Na sien Pikkhu Kin* (that is The Book of the Bhikshu Nagasena Sutra) I have been so fortunate as to receive detailed information about this book both from Dr Serge d Oldenbourg in St Petersburg and from M Sylvain Lévi in Paris Professor Serge d Oldenbourg forwarded to me, in the spring of 1892, a translation into English (which he himself had been kind enough to make) from a translation into Russian by Mr Ivanovsky of the Chinese Introduction and of various episodes in the Chinese which seemed to differ from the Pali This very valuable aid to the interpretation of the *Milinda* which the unselfish courtesy of these two Russian scholars intended thus to place at my disposal, was most unfortunately lost in the post, and I have only been able to gather from a personal interview with Professor d Oldenbourg that the Introduction was a sort of *Gātaka* story in which the Buddha appeared as a white elephant<sup>2</sup>

By a curious coincidence this regrettable loss has been

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<sup>1</sup> Called on the title page Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka But this must surely be a mistake It includes a number of works which are not translations at all and translations of a large number of others which do not belong to the *Pitakas*.

<sup>2</sup> No 1358 in the Catalogue Translated under the Eastern Tsin Dynasty 317-420

<sup>3</sup> As there is nothing about this curious Introduction in either of M Specht's papers to be mentioned immediately it seems possible that there are really three Chinese books on the same subject

since made good by the work of two French scholars Mons Sylvain Lévi forwarded to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in the autumn of 1892, a careful study on the subject by M. Edouard Specht preceded by an introductory essay by himself

It appears from this paper which excited much interest when it was read that there are, not one, but two separate and distinct works extant in China under the name of *Nā sien Pihku Kin*, the one inserted in the Korean collection made in that country in 1010 A.D., and the other printed in the collection of Buddhist books published under the Sung in 1239. Neither the date nor the author of either version seems to be known but Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio states of his work, which is probably one of the two that it was composed between 317 and 420 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The Korean book gives much less of the matter contained in our books II and III than the later work in the Sung collection the former containing only 13,752 characters while the latter has 22,657. In the matter of the order of the questions also the later of the two Chinese books follows much more closely the order found in the present translation than does the work found in the Korean collection.

This paper has since been published in the Proceedings of the Congress<sup>2</sup> and it gives translations of several episodes on questions in which the Chinese is said to throw light on the Pāli. Both M. Specht and M. Sylvain Lévi seem to think that the two Chinese books were translations of older recensions of the work than the one preserved in Pāli. This argument does not seem to me, as at present advised at all certain. It by no means follows that a shorter recension, merely because it is shorter must necessarily be older than a longer one. It is quite as possible that the longer one gave rise to the shorter ones

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<sup>1</sup> It would be very interesting to have this point decided namely, whether the volume in the India Office Library is identical with either of the two very different books in Paris. If not, we have then, still another Chinese book on Milinda.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I. pp. 520-529.

The story of a discussion between Nagasena and Milinda is no doubt, if the arguments in the Introduction to Part I are of any avail, an historical romance with an ethical tendency. In constant repetition after it had become popular, it is precisely those parts which do not appeal so easily to the popular ear (because they deal, not with ordinary puzzles but with dilemmas or with the higher mysteries of Arahatship), that would be naturally omitted. I do not go so far as to say that it must have been so. But I venture to think that for a critical judgment as to the comparative dates of the three works on the same subject now known to exist we must wait till translations of the whole of the two independent Chinese versions are before us. And further that the arguments must then turn on quite other considerations than the very ambiguous conclusions to be drawn merely from the length or shortness of the different treatment in each case. It is very much to be hoped therefore that M. Specht will soon give us complete versions of the two Chinese works in question.

At present it can only be said that we have a very pretty puzzle propounded to us, a puzzle much more difficult to solve than those which King Milinda put to Nagasena the sage. If the shorter version (or rather paraphrase, for it does not seem to be a version at all in our modern sense)—that from the Korea—be really the original how comes it that the other Chinese book included in a collection made two centuries later should happen to differ from it in the precise parts in which it, the supposed original differs from the Pāli? Surely the only probable hypothesis would be that of the Chinese books, both working on the same original the later is more exact than the earlier and that we simply have here one more instance of an already well known characteristic of Chinese reproductions of Indian books—namely that the later version is more accurate than the older one. The later a Chinese translation the better in the few case where comparison is possible it has proved to be (that is the nearer to our idea of what a translation should be).

and Tibetan versions are better, as a rule, than the best of the Chinese

Since the publication of this very interesting paper M Sylvain Lévi has had the great kindness to send me an advance proof of a more complete paper to be published in Paris in which M Specht and himself have made a detailed analysis of the three versions setting out over against the English translation of each question (as contained in the first volume of the present work) the translations of it as they appear in each of the Chinese versions I have not been able by a study of this analysis to add anything to the admirable summary of the conclusions as to the relations of these two books to one another and to the Pāli which are given by M Specht in his article in the Proceedings of the Ninth Congress The later version is throughout much nearer to the Pāli, but neither of the two give more than a small portion of it, the earlier does not seem to go much further than our Volume I page 99 (just where the Pāli has the remark 'Here end the questions of king Milinda') and the later though it goes beyond this point apparently stops at Volume I, page 114

These details are of importance for the decision of the critical question of the history of the Milinda. The book starts with an elaborate and very skilful introduction, giving first an account of the way in which Nāgasena and Milinda had met in a previous birth, then the life history in order of each of them in this birth, then the account of how they met. Throughout the whole story the attention is constantly directed to the very great ability of the two disputants and to the fact that they had been specially prepared through their whole existence for this great encounter, which was to be of the first importance for religion and for the world This introductory story occupies in my translation thirty nine pages. Is it likely that so stately an entrance hall should have really been built to lead only into one or two small rooms?—to two chapters occupying only sixty pages more? Is it not more probable that the original architect had a better sense of proportion? As an Introduction to the book as we have it in these

volumes the story told in those thirty nine pages is very much in place as an Introduction to the first two chapters only or to the first two and a portion of the third it is quite incongruous. And accordingly we find in the very beginning of the Introduction a kind of table of contents in which the shape of the whole book, as we have it here is foreshadowed in detail, and in due proportion. This will have to be taken into account when, with full translations of the two Chinese books before us, we shall have to consider whether they are really copies of the original statue or whether they are interesting fragments

I ought not to close this reference to the labours of MM Lévi and Specht without calling attention to a slip of the pen in one expression used by M Sylvain Lévi regarding the *Milinda*<sup>1</sup>. He says 'La science ne connaissait jusqu'ici de cet ouvrage qu'un texte écrit en Pāli et incorporé dans le canon Singhalais?' Now there is, accurately speaking no such thing as a Sinhalese canon of the Buddhist Scriptures any more than there is a French or an English canon of the Christian Scriptures. The canon of the three *Piṭakas*, settled in the valley of the Ganges (probably at Patna in the time of Asoka) has been adhered to it is true in Ceylon Burma and Siam. But it cannot properly be called either a Ceylonese or a Burmese or a Siamese canon. In that canon the *Milinda* was never incorporated. And not only so but the expression used clearly implies that there is some other canon. Now there has never been any other canon of the Buddhist Scriptures besides this one of the three *Piṭakas*. Many Buddhist books, not incorporated in the canon have been composed in different languages—Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese Tibetan, Japanese Sinhalese, Burmese Siamese &c—but no new canon in the European meaning of the phrase, has ever been formed.

One meets occasionally, no doubt in European books on Buddhism allusions or references to a later canon

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<sup>1</sup> Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists vol. p 58

supposed to have been settled at the Council of Kanishka. The blunder originated I believe with Mr Beal. But in the only account of that Council which we possess that of Yuan Tshang<sup>1</sup>, there is no mention at all of any new canon having been settled. The account is long and detailed. An occurrence of so extreme an importance would scarcely have escaped the notice of the Chinese writer. But throughout the account the canonicity of the three Pīṭakas is simply taken for granted. The members of the Council were chosen exclusively from those who knew the three Pīṭakas, and the work they performed was the composition of three books—the Upadesa, the Vinaya Vibhāṣā, and the Abhidharma Vibhāṣa. The words which follow in the Chinese have been differently interpreted by the European translators. Julien says

‘They (the members of the Council) thoroughly explained the three Pīṭakas, and thus placed them above all the books of antiquity’<sup>2</sup>

Beal, on the other hand, renders

Which (namely which three books) thoroughly explained the three Pīṭakas. There was no work of antiquity to be compared with (placed above) their productions<sup>3</sup>

It is immaterial which version best conveys the meaning of the original. They both clearly show that, in the view of Yuan Tshang the Council of Kanishka did not establish any new canon. Since that time the rulers of China, Japan and Tibet have from time to time published collections of Buddhist books. But none of these collections even purports to be a canon of the Scriptures. They contain works of very various, and some quite modern, ages and authors and can no more be regarded as a canon of the Buddhist Scriptures than Migne’s voluminous collection of Christian books can be called a new canon of the Christian Scriptures.

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<sup>1</sup> Julien’s translation vol. i pp. 173–178 and Mr Beal’s own translation, i. 147–157. There are two or three incidental references to the Council in other works. See my *Buddhism* p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> St. Julien, *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, vol. i, pp. 177–178.  
Beal, *Buddhist Records of the W. World* vol. i, p. 55.

This was already pointed out in my little manual, *Buddhism* published in 1877 and it is a pity that references in subsequent books to a supposed canon settled at Kanishka's Council have still perpetuated the blunder. M. Sylvain Lévi, for whose genius and scholarship I have the profoundest respect does not actually say that there was such a canon but his words must lead readers ignorant of the facts to imply that there was one.

I have also to add that M. Barth has called attention<sup>1</sup> to the fact that M. Sylvain Lévi has added another service to those already mentioned as rendered by him to the interpretation of the *Milinda* by a discussion of the reference to our book in the *Abhidharma kośa vyākhyā* referred to in my previous Introduction, p. xxvi. This discussion was published in a periodical I have not seen<sup>2</sup>. But it seems that M. Lévi, with the help of two Chinese translations has been able to show that the citation is not only in the commentary but also in the text of Vasubandhu's work. M. Léon Feer has been kind enough to send me the actual words of the reference and they will be found published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1891 p. 476.

Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg has also been good enough to point out to me that the two Cambridge MSS. of Kshemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadāna kalpalatā* read *Milinda* (not *Millinda* as given by Rajendra Lal Mitra<sup>3</sup>) as the name of the king referred to in the 57th *Avadāna*, the *Stupāvadāna*. I had not noticed this reference to the character in our historical romance. It comes in quite incidentally the Buddha prophesying to Indra that a king *Milinda* would erect a stupa at *Paṭaligrama*. There is no allusion to our book, and the passage is only interesting as showing that the memory of king *Milinda* still survived in India at the time when Kshemendra wrote in the eleventh century A.D.

Another reference to one of the characters in the *Milinda*

<sup>1</sup> In the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* for 1893 (which has only just reached me) p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> The *Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 1893, p. 232.

*Nepal* ..... p. 60

which has come to notice since the publication of part 1 is in the closing words of the *Attha Sālinī-Atthayogaṇā* (a *ṭīkā* on Buddhaghosa's first work, his commentary on the *Dhamma Saṅgaṇī*) which was written in Siam after the twelfth century by *Ñānakitti*, and edited in 1890 at Galle by *Paññāsekhara Unnāṇse*. On page 265 we read

Vattaniya-senāsane ti Viñghātaviyaṃ Vattaniya senā-  
sane Tena vuttam Mahāvamsa

Assagutta mahāthero pabhinna-Pāṭisambhido  
Sattḥi bhikkhū sahaṣṣāni Viñghāṭaviyaṃ ādiya  
Vattaniya-senāsanaṃ nabhasā tattha m-otaritī

'The words Vattaniya-senāsane mean, in the Vattaniya Hermitage in the Vindhya Desert. Therefore it is said in the *Mahāvamsa*

The great Thera Assagutta who knew so well the *Pāṭisambhida*, bringing sixty thousand brethren from the Vattaniya Hermitage in the Vindhya Desert through the sky, descended there

This quotation is very interesting. It follows that in the original text of the *Attha Sālinī* there is something about the Vattaniya Hermitage. And also that the author of this *Ṭīkā* must have had before him some text of our *Mahāvamsa* differing from ours or perhaps some other *Mahāvamsa*. For the lines quoted do not occur in our text. The nearest approach to them is one line in the description of the assembly that came together at the consecration of the *Mahā Thupa* at *Anurādhapura* in the year 157 B C. It runs<sup>1</sup>

Viñghātavi Vattaniya senasana<sup>2</sup> tu Uttaro  
Thero sattḥi sahaṣṣāni bhikkhū ādiya āgamā

'The thera Uttara came up bringing with him sixty thousand Bhikshus from the Vattaniya Hermitage [not Uttama Temple as Turnour translates] in the Vindhya Desert.'

The resemblance of the passages is striking. But all

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XXIX p. 171 of Turnour's edition

<sup>2</sup> T has V ṭīkā u



that can be concluded is that the author of our *Mahāvamsa* Mahanāma, who wrote in the middle of the fifth century knew of the Vattaniya Hermitage and that the author of the text quoted by *Nānakitti* (in a passage probably describing the same event) mentions an Assagutta as having come to the festival from his hermitage at Vattaniya

Both these references are entirely legendary In order to magnify the importance of the great festival held in Ceylon on the occasion referred to it is related that certain famous members of the Buddhist order came attended by many followers, through the sky to take part in the ceremony A comparison of this list with the previous list also given in the *Mahāvamsa*<sup>1</sup> of the missionaries sent out nearly a hundred years before by Asoka will show that the names in the second list are in great part an echo of those in the first But in selecting well known names Mahānāma in his second, fabulous list has, according to the published text also included that of the Vattaniya Hermitage and according to the new verse in the other text has associated with that place the name of Assagutta not found elsewhere except in the *Milinda* In that book the residence of Assagutta is not specified—it is his friend Rohana who lives at the Vattaniya and the locality of the Vattaniya is not specified—it would seem from the statement at I 25 (part 1 p 20 of this translation) that it was a days journey from the Guarded Slope that is in the Himālayas But geographical allusions are apt to be misleading when the talk is of Bhikshus who could fly through the air And it seems the most probable explanation that the authors of these verses, in adopting these names had the *Milinda* story in their mind

[Turnours reading of the name as Uttara and not Assagutta is confirmed by the *Dīpavamsa* chap XIX, verses 4-6 where all the fourteen names of the visitors from India are given (without any details as to the districts whence they came) and the corresponding name is also Uttara there ]

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<sup>1</sup> Turnour pp 1-3

The above sets out all the new information I have been able to glean about the *Milinda* since the publication of the Introduction to the first volume of this translation. I had hoped in this Introduction to discuss the doctrines as apart from the historical and geographical allusions, of our author—comparing his standpoint with that of the earliest Buddhists, set out in the four great *Nikāyas* with that of later books contained in the *Piṭakas* and with that of still later works not included in the canon at all. I have to express my regret that a long and serious illness, culminating in a serious accident that was very nearly a fatal one has deprived me altogether of the power of work, and not only prevented me from carrying out this perhaps too ambitious design, but has so long delayed the writing of this Introduction.

Only one of the preliminary labours to the intended Introduction was completed. I read through the *Kathā Vatthu* which has not yet been edited, with a view of ascertaining whether, at the time when that book was written that is in the time of Asoka the kind of questions agitating the Buddhist community bore any relation to the kind of questions discussed by the author of our *Milinda*. As is well known the *Kathā Vatthu* sets out a number of points on which the orthodox school, that of the *Thera vādins* differed in Asoka's time from the other seventeen schools (afterwards called collectively the *Hmayāna*) which had sprung up among the Buddhists between the time of the Buddha and that of Asoka. I published in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' for 1892 a statement, both in the original Pāli and in English, of all the points thus discussed by the author of the *Kathā Vatthu* Moggalliputta Tissa Thera giving (from the commentary) the names of the various schools against whom in each instance his remarks were directed.

It is now possible to judge from this analysis of the questions proposed what were the subjects on which differences obtained among the early Buddhists. There are a number of points raised in Tissa's discussions which are also discussed by the author of the *Milinda*. In every

instance the two authors agree in their views Nāgasena in the *Milinda* always advocating the opinion which Tissa puts forward as that of the Thera vadins. This is especially the case with those points which Moggalliputta Tissa thinks of so much importance that he discusses them at much greater length than the others

His first chapter for instance, by far the longest in his book is on the question whether in the high and truest sense of the word there can be said to be a soul <sup>1</sup> It is precisely this question which forms also the subject of the very first discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena, the conversation leading up to the celebrated simile of the chariot by which Nāgasena apparently convinces Milinda of the truth of the orthodox Buddhist view that there is really no such thing as a 'soul in the ordinary sense' <sup>2</sup> On leaving the sage, the king returns to his palace and the next day the officer who escorts Nāgasena there to renew the discussion occupies the time to raise again the same question and is answered by the simile of the musicians <sup>3</sup> Not content with these two expositions of this important doctrine the author of the *Milinda* returns again soon afterwards to the same point which he illustrates by the simile of the palace <sup>4</sup>, and further on in the book he takes occasion to discuss and refute the commonly held opinion that there is a soul in inanimate things such as water <sup>5</sup>

It cannot be doubted that the authors of the *Kathāvatthu* and the *Milinda* were perfectly justified in putting this crucial question in the very forefront of their discussion—just as the Buddha himself as is well known made it the subject of the very first discourse he addressed to his earliest converted followers the *Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta*, included both in the *Vinaya* and in the *Anguttara Nikāya* <sup>6</sup>

The history of ideas about the soul' has yet to be

<sup>1</sup> *Kathāvatthu* I, 1

<sup>2</sup> *Milinda* 1, pp 40-41

<sup>3</sup> *Milinda* 1, p. 48

<sup>4</sup> *Milinda* 1 pp 86-89

*Milinda*, ii pp. 85-87

<sup>6</sup> *Vinaya Texts* (S. B. E. XIII) part 1 pp 100, 101 and *Anguttara Nikāya*

written But the outlines of it are pretty well established, and there is nothing to show that the Indian notions on the subject, apart perhaps from the subsidiary beliefs in Karma and transmigration were materially different from those obtaining elsewhere Already in prehistoric times the ancestors of the Indian peoples, whether Aryan by race or not, had come to believe probably through the influence of dreams in the existence inside each man of a subtle image of the man himself This weird and intangible form left the body during sleep, and at death it continued in some way to live It was a crude hypothesis found useful to explain the phenomena of dreams of motion and of life And it was applied very indiscriminately to the allied phenomena in external things—the apparent life and motion not only of animals but also of plants and rivers of winds and celestial bodies, being explained by the hypothesis of a soul within them The varying conditions and appearances of the external world gave rise to the various powers and qualities ascribed to these external souls and hence to whole systems of polytheism and mythology And just as the gods which never had any existence except in the ideas of their worshippers were born and grew and changed and passed away with those ideas so also the hypothesis of internal souls had, no less in India than elsewhere a continual change a continual development—and this not only as to ideas on the nature and origin of the internal human souls, but as to their relation to the external souls or gods And when speculation which loved to busy itself with these mysterious and fanciful hypotheses, had learnt to conjecture a unity behind the variety of external spirits the relation of men's souls to the one great first cause, to God, became the subject of endless discussions of varying views invented to harmonise with varying preconceived conceptions

When Buddhism arose these hypotheses as to 'souls, internal and external, formed the basis of all the widely differing and very living and earnest, religious and philosophical speculations in the valley of the Ganges, where there then obtained that marvellous freedom of thought

on all such subjects which has been throughout its history a distinguishing characteristic of the Indian people. Now there is one work of more importance than any other in Buddhism the collection of the Dialogues of Gotama the Buddha, brought together in the *Digha* and *Magg/ma Nikāyas*. It contains the views of the Buddha set out as they appeared to his very earliest disciples in a series of 185 conversational discourses which will some day come to hold a place in the history of human thought akin to that held by the Dialogues of Plato. Is it a mere chance or is it the actual result of the necessities of the case that this question of 'souls' is put into the forefront of this collection just as it is the point treated first and at the greatest length in the *Kathā Vatthu* and put first also in the *Milinda*?

The first of these 185 dialogues is the *Brahmagala Suttanta*, the discourse called the Perfect Net the net whose meshes are so fine that no folly of superstition however subtle can slip through—the clearing away of the rubbish before the foundations are laid for the new palace of good sense. In it are set out sixty two varieties of existing hypotheses and after each and all of them has been rejected the doctrine of *Arahatship* is put forward as the right solution. The sixty two heresies are as follows

- 1-4. **SASSATA VADA**. People who either from meditation of three degrees, or fourthly through logic and reasoning have come to believe that both the external world as a whole and individual souls, are eternal
- 5-8. **EKAJJA-SASSATIKA**. People who, in four ways hold that some souls are eternal while others are not.
  - a. Those who hold that God is eternal but not the individual souls
  - b. Those who hold that all the gods are eternal but not the individual souls
  - c. Those who hold that certain illustrious gods are eternal, but not the human souls.

- d* Those who hold that while the bodily forms are not eternal, there is a subtle something called Heart or Mind, or Consciousness which is
- 9-12 ANTÂNTIKA People who chop logic about finity and infinity
- a* Those who hold the world to be finite
- b* Those who hold it to be infinite
- c* Those who hold it to be both
- d* Those who hold it to be neither
- 13-16 AMARA VIKKHEPIKÂ People who equivocate about virtue and vice—
- a* From the fear that if they express a decided opinion grief at possible mistake will injure them
- b* That they may form attachments which will injure them
- c* That they may be unable to answer skilful disputants
- d* From dullness and stupidity
- 17-18 ADHIKÂA SAMUPIANIKÂ People who think that the origin of things can be explained without a cause
- 19-50 UDDHAMA-AGHATANIKA People who believe in the future existence of human souls.
- a* Sixteen different phases of the hypothesis of a conscious existence after death.
- b* Eight different phases of the hypothesis of an unconscious existence after death
- c* Eight different phases of the hypothesis of an existence between consciousness and unconsciousness after death.
- 51-57 UKKHEDA VADÂ People who teach the doctrine that there is a soul but that it will cease to exist on the death of the body here or at the end of a next life, or of further lives in higher and ever higher states of being
- 58-62 DIṬṬHA DHAMMIKA NIBBANA VÂDA People who hold that there is a soul, and that it can attain to perfect bliss in this present world, or in whatever world it happens to be—

- a* By a full, complete and perfect enjoyment of the five senses
- b* By an enquiring mental abstraction (the First Dhyâna)
- c* By undisturbed mental bliss untarnished by enquiry (the Second Dhyana)
- d* By mental peace free alike from joy and pain and enquiry (the Third Dhyâna)
- e* By this mental peace plus a sense of purity (the Fourth Dhyâna)

Professor Garbe in his just published *Sankhya Philosophie*<sup>1</sup> holds that the first persons attacked in this list are the followers of the Sâṅkhya. The double view of the *Sassatā vādā* is no doubt the basis of the Sankhya system. But the system contains much more and it would be safer to say that we have here a warning against the philosophical view which afterwards developed into the Sâṅkhya or rather which became afterwards a fundamental part of the Sâṅkhya. The Vedānta in either of its forms is not, it will be noticed referred to in any one of the sixty two divisions but philosophical views forming part of the Vedānta may be traced in Nos 5 8 10 20, &c. The scheme is not intended as a refutation of the views, as a whole held by any special school or individual, but as a statement of erroneous views on two special points, namely the soul and the world. However this may be, we find an ample justification in this comprehensive and systematic condemnation of all current or possible forms of the soul-theory for the prominence which the author of the *Milinda* gives to the subject.

The other points on which the *Milinda* may be compared with the *Kathā Vatthu* will need less comment. The discussion in the *Milinda* as to the manner in which the Divine Eye can arise in a man<sup>2</sup> is a reminiscence of the question raised in the *Kathā Vatthu* III, 7 as to whether the eye of flesh can through strength of dhamma, grow into the Divine Eye. The discussion in the *Milinda* as to

how a layman who is a layman after becoming an Arahāt can enter the Order<sup>1</sup> is entirely in accord with the opinion maintained as against the Uttarāpathakā in the Kathā Vatthu IV 1. Our Milinda ascribes the verses

Exert yourselves be strong and to the faith &c to the Buddha<sup>2</sup>. In the note on that passage I had pointed out that they are ascribed not to the Buddha but to Abhibhū in certain Pīṭaka texts and to the Buddha himself only in late Sanskrit works. In the exposition of Kathā Vatthu II 3 the verses are also ascribed to the Buddha. The proposition in the Kathā Vatthu II 8 that the Buddha in the ordinary affairs of life was not transcendental agrees with Nagasena's argument in the Milinda part II pp 8-12. The discussion in the Milinda as to whether an Arahāt can be thoughtless or guilty of an offence<sup>3</sup> is foreshadowed by the similar points raised in the Kathā Vatthu I 2 II 1 2 and VIII 11. And the two dilemmas Nos 65 and 66 especially as to the cause of space may be compared with the discussion in Kathā Vatthu VI 6 as to whether space is self-existent.

The general result of a comparison between these two very interesting books of controversial apologetics seems to me to be that the differences between them are just such as one might expect (a) from the difference of date and (b) from the fact that the controversy in the older book is carried on against members of the same communion, whereas in the Milinda we have a defence of Buddhism as against the outsider. The Kathā Vatthu takes almost the whole of the conclusions reached in the Milinda for granted and goes on to discuss further questions on points of detail. It does not give a description of Arahātship in glowing terms but discusses minor points as to whether the realisation of Arahātship includes the Fruits of the three lower paths<sup>4</sup>, or whether all the qualities of an Arahāt are free from the Āsavas<sup>5</sup>, or whether the knowledge of his

<sup>1</sup> Milinda, II pp. 96-98 (compare 57-59)

<sup>2</sup> Milinda, II p 60

<sup>3</sup> Kathā Vatthu IV 9.

Milinda, II pp. 98 foll.

<sup>5</sup> Kathā Vatthu IV 3.



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emancipation alone makes a man an Arahāt<sup>1</sup> or whether the breaking of the Fetters constitutes Arahātship and whether the insight into Arahātship suffices to break all the Fetters<sup>2</sup> and so on

The discussion of these details\* gives no opportunity for the enthusiastic eloquence of the author of our *Milinda*, and the very fact of his eloquence argues a later date. But there can be no doubt as to the superiority of his style. And I still adhere to the opinions expressed in the former Introduction that the work as it stands in the Pāli, is of its kind (that is, as a book of apologetic controversy) the best in point of style that had then been written in any country and that it is the masterpiece of Indian prose.

T W RHYS DAVIDS

TEMPLE

May 1894

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Kathā Vatthu V 1

<sup>2</sup> Kathā Vatthu V 10 and X, 1



THE QUESTIONS  
OF  
KING MILINDA

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BOOK IV  
THE SOLVING OF DILEMMAS

CHAPTER 5

[DILEMMA THE FORTY FIRST  
ON DWELLING PLACES]

1 [211] Venerable Nagasena, the Blessed One  
said

‘ In friendship of the world anxiety is born  
In household life distraction s dust springs up  
The state set free from home and friendship s ties  
That and that only, is the recluse s aim <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is the opening verse of the Muni Sutta (in the Sutta Nipāta I 12). It is quoted again below p 38, of the Pāli text. The second line is in the original enigmatically terse and runs simply ‘From a home dust arises.’ This Fausbøll renders (in the S B E vol x part II p 33) ‘From household life arises defilement,’ the word for dust (rago) being often used figuratively in the sense of something that disfigures, is out of place in the higher life. It is the distracting effect of household cares that the recluse has to fear.

But on the other hand he said  
 Let therefore the wise man,  
 Regarding his own deal,  
 Have pleasant dwelling places built  
 And lodge there learned men<sup>1</sup>

'Now venerable Nāgaseṇa, if the former of these two passages was really spoken by the Tathagata then the second must be wrong. But if the Tathagata really said 'Have pleasant dwelling places built' then the former statement must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you which you have to solve.'

2 [212] Both the passages you have quoted O king were spoken by the Tathagata. And the former is a statement as to the nature of things an inclusive statement, a statement which leaves no room for anything to be supplemented to it or to be added to it in the way of gloss<sup>2</sup> as to what is seemly and appropriate and proper for a recluse and as to the mode of life which a recluse should adopt the path he should walk along and the practice he should follow. For just, O king as a deer in the forest wandering in the woods, sleeps wherever he desires having no home and no

<sup>1</sup> This is a very famous verse found first in the Vinaya (*Kuṭṭha vagga* VI 1 5) and quoted in the Introduction to the *Giṭakas* (Fausboll vol 1 p 63 compare vol iv p 354) translated in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories' vol 1 p. 3. Hīnaśīkumburā add it in context

Then shall they preach to him the Dharma  
 The Truth dispelling every grief  
 Which Truth when he sees man perceives  
 He is freed from sorrow and dies away

<sup>2</sup> On these expressions compare above p 170 (p 113 of the text)

dwelling place so also should the recluse be of opinion that

In friendship of the world anxiety is born,  
In household life distraction's dust springs up

5 But when the Blessed One said  
Have pleasant dwelling places built  
And lodge there learned men

that was said with respect to two matters only And what are those two? The gift of a dwelling-place (Wihāra) has been praised and approved esteemed and highly spoken of by all the Buddhas And those who have made such a gift shall be delivered from rebirth old age and death This is the first of the advantages in the gift of a dwelling-place And again if there be a common dwelling place (a Wihāra) the sisters of the Order will have a clearly ascertained place of rendezvous and those who wish to visit (the brethren of the Order)<sup>1</sup> will find it an easy matter to do so Whereas if there were no homes for the members of the Order it would be difficult to visit them This is the second of the advantages in the gift of a dwelling place (a Wihāra) It was with reference to these two matters only that it was said by the Blessed One

Have pleasant dwelling places built  
And lodge there learned men

[213] 'And it does not follow from that that the sons of the Buddha should harbour longings after the household life

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are added from Hin'ā Lambure

<sup>2</sup> That is, the members of the Order

Very good Nāgasena! That is so and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the dilemma as to dwelling-places]

[DILEMMA THE FORTY SECOND  
MODERATION IN FOOD]

4 Venerable Nāgasena the Blessed One said  
'Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed) when standing up (to beg for food) Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach'<sup>1</sup>

But on the other hand he said

"Now there were several days Udāyin on which I ate out of this bowl when it was full to the brim and ate even more"<sup>2</sup>

'No √ if the first rule be true then the second statement must be false But if the statement be true, then the rule first quoted must be wrong

<sup>1</sup> This verse has not yet been traced The first half of it occurs in a different connection at Dhammapada verse 168 which I have rendered (at Buddhism p 65) Rise up and loiter not! with out any reference at all to food This was in accordance with the view taken of the passage both by Prof Fausböll, who renders it (p 31 of his edition of the Pali) Surgat ne sit socors and by Prof Max Müller who renders it (S B E vol x, part 1 p 47) Rouse thyself, do not be idle<sup>1</sup> And I still think (especially noting such passages as Dhammapada, verses 231 232 and the verse quoted in the Commentary p 126 of Fausböll from Gataka IV 496 &c) that this was the original meaning in that connection. But here the words must clearly be taken as referring to food and it is very remarkable that the commentator on the Dhammapada (see p 335 of Fausböll's edition) takes them in that sense also even in the other connection It is a striking instance of the way in which commentators impart a purely technical sense into a general ethical precept

<sup>2</sup> From the Maha Udāyi Sutta (Maggħima Nikāya No 77)

This too is a double-edged problem now put to you which you have to solve

5 Both the passages you have quoted O king were spoken by the Blessed One But the former passage [214] is a statement as to the nature of things an inclusive statement a statement which leaves no room for anything to be supplemented to it or added to it in the way of gloss a statement of what is true and real and in accordance with the facts and that cannot be proved wrong a declaration made by the prophets and sages and teachers, and Arahats, and by the Buddhas who are wise for themselves alone (*Paḷḷeka Buddhas*), a declaration made by the Conquerors and by the All wise Ones a declaration made too by the Tathagata the Arahāt the Supreme Buddha himself He who has no self control as regards the stomach O king will destroy living creatures will take possession of what has not been given to him will be unchaste, will speak lies will drink strong drink will put his mother or his father to death will slay an Arahāt will create a schism in the Order will even with malice aforethought wound a Tathagata Was it not, O king when without restraint as to his stomach that Deva datta by breaking up the Order heaped up for him self karma that would endure for a kalpa<sup>1</sup>? It was on calling to mind this O king and many other things of the same kind that the Blessed One declared

Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed)

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<sup>1</sup> See above p 164 (p 109 of the Pali text) These passages show that Dr Morris's note in the *Journal of the Pālī Text Society* 1885 requires modification See also below IV 8 88 and the passages quoted by him in the *Journal* for 1886

when standing up (to beg for food) Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach

6 'And he who has self control as regards the stomach gains a clear insight into the Four Truths realises the Four Fruits of the life of renunciation<sup>1</sup> and attains to mastery over the Four Discriminations<sup>2</sup>, the Eight Attainments<sup>3</sup> and the Six Modes of Higher Knowledge<sup>4</sup> and fulfils all that goes to constitute the life of the recluse Did not the parrot fledgling O king by self restraint as to his stomach cause the very heaven of the great Thirty-Three to shake and bring down Sakka, the king of the gods to wait upon him<sup>5</sup>?' It was on calling to mind this O king and many other things of a similar kind that the Blessed One declared

"Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed) when standing up (to beg for food) Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach

7 'But when, O king, the Blessed One said 'Now there were several days, Udâyi on which I ate out of this bowl when it was full to the brim and ate even more that was said by him who had completed his task who had finished all that he had to do who had accomplished the end he set before him who had overcome every obstruction by the self-dependent<sup>6</sup> Tathâgata himself about himself

<sup>1</sup> Sâmañña <sup>2</sup> Pañisambhidâ <sup>3</sup> Samâpatti <sup>4</sup> Abhiñña

<sup>5</sup> This story will be found in the two Sûka Gâtakas (Nos 429 and 430 in Fausbøll) I had not succeeded in tracing it when the list at vol 1, p xxvi was drawn up, it should therefore be added there

<sup>6</sup> Sayambhunâ whose knowledge is not derived from any one else. (Sayambhu-ñña-wâ says Hinañ kumburê) Burnouf's proposition ('Lotus' p 336) to take it in the sense of 'who has no other substratum or raison d'être than himself' cannot be accepted in spite of Childers's approbation.



Just O king as it is desirable that a sick man to whom an emetic or a purge or a cluster has been administered, should be treated with a tonic [215] just so O king should the man who is full of evil and who has not perceived the Four Truths adopt the practice of restraint in the matter of eating But just O king as there is no necessity of polishing and rubbing down<sup>1</sup>, and purifying a diamond gem of great brilliancy of the finest water and of natural purity, just so O king is there no restraint as to what actions he should perform on the Tathâgata on him who hath attained to perfection in all that lies within the scope of a Buddha<sup>2</sup>

Very good Nâgasena! That is so and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma as to restraint in eating]

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<sup>1</sup> Nighamsana Compare the use of nighamsati at *Kullâvagga V 27 2*

<sup>2</sup> This is much more than a mere injunction not to gild refined gold It comes very near to the enunciation of the dangerous doctrine that the holy man is above the law and that nothing he does can be wrong It is curious how frequently one finds this proposition cropping up in the most unexpected places and the history of religious belief is full of instances of its pernicious effect on the most promising movements When one considers the great influence of our author's work it becomes especially interesting to note how the doctrine has never among the orthodox Buddhists who read the Pali Scriptures been extended from the Buddha himself to his followers and from moderation in food to matters of more vital import in the life of a church And this is the more remarkable as the Tantra works of the corrupt Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet show how fatal has been the result of the doctrine among those Buddhists who had lost the guiding support of the older Scriptures.

## [DILEMMA THE FORTY THIRD]

## BAKKULAS SUPERIORITY TO THE BUDDHA]

8 Venerable Nagasena it was said by the Blessed One

A Brahman am I O brethren devoted to self sacrifice<sup>1</sup> pure handed at every time this body that I bear with me is my last I am the supreme Healer and Physician

But on the other hand the Blessed One said

The chief O brethren among those who are disciples of mine in the matter of bodily health is Bakkula<sup>2</sup>

Now it is well known that diseases arose several times in the body of the Blessed One So that if, Nāgasena the Tathāgata was supreme, then the statement he made about Bakkulas bodily health must be wrong But if the Elder named Bakkula was really chief among those who were healthy then that statement which I first quoted must be

<sup>1</sup> Yāśayogo See Sutta Nipāta III 5 1 Anguttara Nikāya III 79 2 and below p 225 (of the Pāli text)

<sup>2</sup> This passage has not yet been traced in the Pālis and the context is therefore unknown But the word Brahman must of course be applied to the Buddha here in the sense not of one belonging to the Brahman caste but of Arahāt Hīnaṁ kumburē adds as a gloss bāhita pāpa brahmaṇeyek 'brahman be cause he has suppressed evil in himself On this explanation see my note to the forty eighth dilemma which is devoted to the discussion of this difficulty

On the Buddha as the Great Physician see Sutta Nipāta III 7 13, Maggħma Nikāya I 429 Sumangala Vilāsinī 67 255 and Milinda pp 110 169 (of the Pāli text)

<sup>3</sup> Anguttara Nikāya I 14, 4 The reading adopted by our author agrees with that of the Sinhalese MSS put by Dr Morris into the text.

wrong This too is a double edged problem, now put to you which you have to solve

9 Both the quotations you have made O king, are correct<sup>1</sup> But what the Blessed One said about Bakkula was said of those disciples who had learnt by heart the sacred words and studied them, and handed down the tradition which in reference to the characteristics (each of them in some one point) had in addition to those which were found in him himself<sup>2</sup> [216] For there were certain of the disciples of the Blessed One O king who were meditators on foot spending a whole day and night in walking up and down in meditation But the Blessed One was in the habit of spending the day and night in meditation not only walking up and down but also sitting and lying down So such O king of the disciples as were meditators on foot<sup>3</sup> surpassed him in that particular And there were certain of the disciples of the Blessed One O king, who were 'eaters at one sitting' who would not even to save their lives take more than one meal a day But the

<sup>1</sup> Here as always they are repeated in full in the text

<sup>2</sup> This passage is very ambiguous Hīnaś kumburē renders it with reference to what was found in himself and besides that (with reference) to the disciples who had learnt &c tradition He translates *agamanam* and the two following words as relative compounds by *agama dhāri vā* &c and in this I have followed him But he supplies an 'and' after the last thus taking them as accusatives in dependence on *sandhāya*, and that cannot be right. It seems forced to separate *bāhīranam* so much from the other genitives with which it stands in the text and yet it is so impossible to make sense of the passage in any other way that one would like to know the readings of all the MSS

<sup>3</sup> *Kakkhupāla* and others adds *Hīnaś kumbure* (For the story of *Kakkhupāla*, see the commentary on the *Dhammapada* verse 1)

Blessed One was in the habit of taking a second or even a third. So such O king of the disciples as were 'eaters at one sitting' surpassed him in that particular. And in a similar way O king a number of different things have been told each one of one or other of the disciples. But the Blessed One, O king surpassed them all in respect of uprightness and of power of meditation and of wisdom, and of emancipation and of that insight which arises out of the knowledge of emancipation and in all that lies within the scope of a Buddha. It was with reference to that, O king that he said

A Brahman am I O brethren devoted to self sacrifice pure handed at every time this body that I bear with me is my last, I am the supreme Healer and Physician

10 Now one man O king may be of good birth and another may be wealthy and another full of wisdom and another well educated and another brave and another adroit, but a king, surpassing all these, is reckoned supreme. Just in that way O king is the Blessed One the highest, the most worthy of respect the best of all beings. And in so far as the venerable Bakkula was healthy in body, that was by reason of an aspiration (he had formed in a previous birth)<sup>1</sup>. For O king, when Anoma-dassi, the Blessed One, was afflicted with a disease, with wind in his stomach and again when Vipassi the Blessed One and sixty-eight thousand of his disciples were afflicted with a disease with greenness of blood<sup>2</sup>, he

<sup>1</sup> See, for other instances of such aspirations, above vol 1 p 5

<sup>2</sup> *Tina pupphaka-roga*. There is a flower called *tina puppha* and this may be a skin disease named after it. But *pupphaka* at Gataka III 541 means blood and the disease may

being at those times an ascetic had cured that disease with various medicines and attained (thereby) to such healthiness of body (in this life) that it was said of him

The chief O brethren among those who are disciples of mine in the matter of bodily health, is Bakkula

11 But the Blessed One O king whether he be suffering or not suffering from disease, whether he have taken or not taken, upon himself the observance

be so called because the blood was turned by it to the colour of grass (*tina*). Hinañ kumburê (who gives these legends of the previous births of Bakkula at much greater length adding others from the time of the Buddhas Padumuttara and Kassapa and giving the story also of his present birth) says that the disease arose from contact with wind which had been poisoned through blowing over a Upas tree (p 296 of the Sinhalese version) But he does not explain the name of the disease which occurs only here

In his present birth Bakkula is said to have been born at Kosāmbī in a wealthy family His mother understanding that to bathe a new born child in the Jumna would ensure him a long life took him down to the river Whilst he was there being bathed a huge fish swallowed him But the fish caught at Benares, was sold to a wealthy but childless man there and on being cut open the babe was found in it unhurt

The mother hearing the news of this marvel went in great state and with haste to Benares and claimed the child Thereupon an interesting lawsuit arose and the king of Benares, thinking it unjust to deprive the purchaser of a fish of anything inside it, and also unjust to deprive a mother of her child decided that the child belonged equally to both. So he became the heir of both families and was therefore called Bak kula the two-family one (Bak=Bâ=Dvâ) On the real derivation of Bakkula see Dr Morris in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1886 pp 94-99 We need not quarrel with a false etymology which shows us so clearly the origin of the legend Then Bakkula enjoys great prosperity in the orthodox three palaces and at eighty years of age being still in vigorous health enters the Order

of special vows<sup>1</sup>—there is no being like unto the Blessed One [217] For this O king has been said by the Blessed One the god of gods in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikâya*<sup>2</sup>

‘Whatsoever beings O brethren there may be—whether without feet or bipeds or four footed things whether with a body or without a body whether conscious or unconscious or neither conscious nor not—the Tathâgata is acknowledged to be the chief of all, the Arahât the Buddha Supreme.

Very good, Nâgasena<sup>1</sup> That is so and I accept it as you say<sup>3</sup>

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[Here ends the problem as to the superiority of Bakkula to the Buddha]

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<sup>1</sup> The Dhutangas enumerated below p 301 (of the Pali text)

<sup>2</sup> *Samyutta Nikâya* XLIV 103

<sup>3</sup> This piece of casuistry is not so entirely at variance with the context of the second passage (quoted from the *Anguttara* I 14) as would seem at first sight. The answer practically amounts to this, that though each of many disciples may be superior to the Buddha in certain bodily qualities or even in the special vows known as Dhutangas yet he surpasses them in the weightier matters of the law. It is true that one of the instances given that of the *thâna kankamika*, is not included in the list of Dhutangas, and in the long enumeration in the *Anguttara* of those of the disciples who were chief in any way weightier matters of the law are not overlooked. But ‘meditation on foot’ is of the same nature as the acknowledged Dhutangas and none of the five special points in which Nâgasena places especially the superiority of the Buddha (uprightness &c) is mentioned in the *Anguttara*. Nevertheless the logical reply to the problem proposed would have been that in the *Anguttara* the superiority spoken of is over other disciples, and not over the Buddha.

## [DILEMMA THE FORTY-FOURTH

## THE ORIGINALITY OF THE BUDDHA'S TEACHING]

12 'Venerable Nagasena, it has been said by the Blessed One

"The Tathâgata O brethren, the Arahât the Buddha supreme<sup>1</sup> is the discoverer of a way that was unknown<sup>2</sup>

But on the other hand he said

'Now I perceived, O brethren the ancient way, the ancient path, along which the previous Buddhas walked<sup>2</sup>

'If, Nâgasena, the Tathâgata be the discoverer of a way not previously found out then it must be wrong that it was an ancient way that he perceived, an ancient path along which previous Buddhas walked But if the way he perceived were an ancient way then the statement that it was unknown must be wrong This too is a double-edged problem now put to you which you have to solve

13 Both the quotations you make, O king, are accurate And both the statements so made are correct When the previous Tathagatas O king had disappeared, then there being no teacher left their way too disappeared And it was that way—though then broken up crumbled away, gone to ruin closed in no longer passable quite lost to view—[218] that the Tathâgata, having gained a

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<sup>1</sup> Supreme that is in comparison with the Paññaka Buddhas Buddhas for themselves alone whereas the altogether Buddha can not only see the truth for himself but also persuade others of it

<sup>2</sup> These two quotations are from the Samyutta Nikâya XXI 58 and X, 2 65 says Mr Trenckner but I cannot trace them in M. Feer's edition

thorough knowledge of it saw by the eye of his wisdom<sup>1</sup> (and knew it) as the way that previous Buddhas trod. And therefore is it that he said

Now I perceived O brethren the ancient way the ancient path along which previous Buddha walked

And it was a way which—there being through the disappearance of previous Tathagatas, no teacher left—was a way then broken up, crumbled away gone to ruin closed in and lost to view that the Tathâgata made now passable again. And therefore is it that he said

The Tathâgata O brethren the Arahât the Buddha supreme is the discoverer of a way that was unknown.

14 Suppose O king, that on the disappearance of a sovran overlord, the mystic Gem of Sovranty lay concealed in a cleft on the mountain peak and that on another sovran overlord arriving at his supreme dignity it should appear to him. Would you then say, O king that the Gem was produced by him<sup>2</sup>?

Certainly not Sir! The Gem would be in its original condition. But it has received, as it were a new birth through him

‘Just so O king is it that the Blessed One gaining a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of

<sup>1</sup> The wisdom arising from the perception of the Four Noble Truths is Hīmañ kumburê's gloss.

<sup>2</sup> The wondrous Gem treasure of the king of kings (the *Veṇurīya*, etymologically the same as beryl, but probably meaning cat's-eye) is supposed like the other mystic treasures, to come to him of its own accord on his becoming sovran overlord. See my ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 256 (S. B. E. vol. xi).



his wisdom brought back to life and made passable again the most excellent eightfold way in its original condition as when it was walked along by the previous Tathagatas—though that way when there was no teacher more had become broken up had crumbled away had gone to ruin was closed in and lost to view And therefore is it that he said

The Tathâgata, O brethren the Arahât the Buddha supreme, is the discoverer of a way that was unknown.

15 It is, O king as when a mother brings forth from her womb the child that is already there and the saying is that the mother has given birth to the child Just so O king did the Tathagata having gained a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of his wisdom, bring into life and make passable again a way that was already there, though then broken up, crumbled away gone to ruin closed in and lost to view

It is as when some man or other finds a thing that has been lost, and the people use the phrase

He has brought it back to life [219] And it is as when a man clears away the jungle and sets free<sup>1</sup> a piece of land and the people use the phrase 'That is his land But that land is not made by him It is because he has brought the land into use that he is called the owner of the land Just so O king did the Tathâgata having gained a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of his wisdom bring back to life and make passable again, a way that was already there though then broken up crumbled

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<sup>1</sup> Niharati. Avaranaya kara ganneva says Hina/kumburê

away gone to ruin closed in no longer passable  
and lost to view And therefore is it that he said

‘The Tathâgata O brethren the Arahât the  
Buddha supreme, is the discoverer of a way that was  
unknown

‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so and I accept  
it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the w of  
Nirvâna]

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[DILEMMA THE FORTY FIFTH  
THE BUDDHA'S KINDNESS]

16 Venerable Nagasena it was said by the  
Blessed One

Already in former births when I was a man had  
I acquired the habit of inflicting no hurt on living  
beings<sup>1</sup>

‘But on the other hand it is said<sup>2</sup>

“When he was Lomasa Kassapa the Rishi he  
had hundreds of living creatures slain and offered  
the great sacrifice the ‘Drink of Triumph’<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This passage has not yet been traced in the Pîakas

<sup>2</sup> The identical words are not found but they are a summary of  
the Lomasa Kassapa Gâtaka (No 433 in Prof Fausböll's edition  
and see especially vol iii p 517 line 25)

<sup>3</sup> Vagapeyya which Professor Fausböll (loc cit, p 518) spells  
vâkapeyya and a Burmese MS he quotes spells vâdhapeyya  
(characteristically enough—the scribe not understanding the word  
and thinking it must have been derived from vadha makes what he  
thinks must be a correction) The Sanskrit form of the word is  
vâkâpêya the drink or draught of battle or victory, name of that  
one of the seven Soma sacrifices which a king offered when  
desirous of attaining to sovran overlordship In the allied legend

‘Now Nagasena if it is true what the Buddha said that in his former births as a man he inflicted no hurt on living beings then the saying that as Lomasa Kassapa he had hundreds of living creatures slain must be false. But if he had then the saying that he inflicted no hurt on living beings must be false. This too is a double edged problem now put to you which you have to solve.

17 The Blessed One did say O king that already in former births when he was a man he had acquired the habit of inflicting no hurt on living beings. And Lomasa Kassapa the Rishi did have hundreds of living creatures slain and offered the great sacrifice the Drink of Triumph [220] But that was done when he was out of his mind through lust and not when he was conscious of what he was doing.

There are these eight classes of men Nagasena who kill living beings—the lustful man through his lust and the cruel man through his anger and the dull man through his stupidity and the proud man through his pride and the ambitious man through his greed and the needy man for the sake of a livelihood and the fool in joke and the king in the way of punishment. These Nagasena are the eight classes of men who kill living beings. The Bodisat venerable Nagasena must have been acting in accordance with his natural disposition when he did so.

No it was not O king an act natural to him that the Bodisat did then. If the Bodisat had been led by natural inclination to offer the great sacrifice he would not have uttered the verse

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of King Jomayada's sacrifice (Ramayana I 8 11 coll.) it is the asva medhi the horse sacrifice which is offered

Not the whole world Sayha the ocean girt  
 With all the seas and hills that girdle it  
 Would I desire to have along with shame<sup>1</sup>

But though O king the Bodisat had said that yet at the very sight of *Kandavati* (Moon face) the princess<sup>2</sup> he went out of his mind and lost command of himself through love And it was when thus out of his mind confused and agitated that he with his thoughts all perplexed scattered and wandering thus offered the great sacrifice, the

Drink of Triumph —and mighty was the outpour of blood from the necks of the slaughtered beasts<sup>3</sup>

‘Just, O king as a madman, when out of his senses will step into a fiery furnace, and take hold of an infuriated venomous snake and go up to a rogue elephant and plunge forwards into great waters the further shore of which he cannot see, and trample through dirty pools and muddy places<sup>4</sup> and rush into thorny brakes and fall down precipices and feed himself on filth and go naked through the streets and do many other things improper to be done—just so was it O king that at the very sight of *Kandavati*, the princess the Bodisat went out of his mind and then only acted as I have said<sup>4</sup>

18 [221] ‘Now an evil act done, O king by one out of his mind is even in this present world not considered as a grievous offence nor is it so in

<sup>1</sup> This verse is found not only in the 433rd *Gataka* (loc cit) but also in the *Sayha Gataka*, No 310, a shorter recension of the same story

<sup>2</sup> *Hinañ kumburē* here summarises the whole story

<sup>3</sup> *Kandanikā* and *oḷigalla* See *Anguttara* III 57 1 *Maggima* I, 11 448 *Thera Gāthā* 567 *Kullavagga* V 17 1 *Hinañ kumburē* spells the second word with an ordinary l

<sup>4</sup> The text repeats the last paragraph

respect of the fruit that it brings about in a future life Suppose O king that a madman had been guilty of a capital offence what punishment would you inflict upon him ?

What punishment is due to a madman ? We should order him to be beaten and set free That is all the punishment he would have

So then O king there is no punishment according to the offence of a madman It follows that there is no sin in the act done by a madman it is a pardonable act And just so O king is it with respect to Lomasa Kassapa, the Rishi, who at the mere sight of *Kandavati* the princess went out of his mind and lost command of himself through love It was when thus out of his mind, confused and agitated that he with his thoughts all perplexed scattered and wandering thus offered the great sacrifice the

Drink of Triumph —and mighty was the outpour of blood from the necks of the slaughtered beasts ' But when he returned again to his natural state and recovered his presence of mind then did he again renounce the world, and having regained the five powers of insight, became assured of rebirth in the Brahma world

Very good, Nagasena ! That is so and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the dilemma about Lomasa Kassapa<sup>1</sup>]

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<sup>1</sup> It is very instructive to notice the way in which our author looks upon the historical Buddha and the various heroes of the *Gâtika* Stories as so absolutely identical that he feels obliged to defend the conduct of all the types as earnestly as he would that of the Buddha himself There is no such conception in the *Pitakas*, and the whole tone of our author's argument reveals the lateness of his date as compared with the *Pitakas*.

[DILEMMA THE 101TY SIXTH  
THE MOCKING OF THE PUDDHA]

19 Venerable Nagasena it was said by the  
Blessed One of Six tusks the elephant king

When he sought to slay him and had reached him  
with his trunk

He perceived the yellow robe the badge of a  
recluse

Then, though smarting with the pain the thought  
possessed his heart —

He who wears the outward garb the Arahats wear  
Must be scatheless held and sacred by the good<sup>1</sup>

But on the other hand it is said

‘ When he was Gotipāla the young Brahman he  
reviled and abused Kassapa the Blessed One the  
Arahat, the Buddha supreme with vile and bitter  
words calling him a shaveling and a good for  
nothing monk<sup>2</sup>

Now if Nāgasena the Bodisat even when he  
was an animal respected the yellow robe [222] then  
the statement that as Gotipala a Brahman he reviled  
and abused the Blessed One of that time must be  
false But if as a Brahman he reviled and abused  
the Blessed One the statement that when he was  
Six tusks the elephant king he respected the  
yellow robe must be false If when the Bodisat  
was an animal though he was suffering severe and  
cruel and bitter pain he respected the yellow robe

<sup>1</sup> From the *Khaddanta Gāṭaka* No 514 (Fausboll vol v  
p 49) with which compare the *Kāśava Gāṭaka* No 221 (vol ii  
p 196)

<sup>2</sup> This has not been found in these words but Mr Trenckner  
refers to *Maggaṃma Nikaya*, No 81 Compare also *Gāṭaka* I 43

which the hunter had put on how was it that when he was a man a man arrived at discretion with all his knowledge mature he did not pay reverence on seeing him to Kassapa the Blessed One the Arahāt the Buddha supreme one endowed with the ten powers the leader of the world, the highest of the high round whom effulgence spread a fathom on every side, and who was clad in most excellent and precious and delicate Benares cloth made into yellow robes? This too is a double edged problem, now put to you which you have to solve

20 The verse you have quoted O king was spoken by the Blessed One And Kassapa the Blessed One the Arahāt, the Buddha supreme was abused and reviled by Goupāla the young Brahman with vile and bitter words with the epithets of shaveling and good for nothing monk But that was owing to his birth and family surroundings For Gotipāla O king, was descended from a family of unbelievers, men void of faith His mother and father his sisters and brothers the bondswomen and bondsmen the hired servants and dependents in the house were worshippers of Brāhma reverers of Brāhma and harbouring the idea that Brahmans were the highest and most honourable among men they reviled and loathed those others who had renounced the world It was through hearing what they said that Gotipāla when invited by Ghaṭikāra the potter to visit the teacher replied What's the good to you of visiting that shaveling, that good for nothing monk?

[223] 21 Just O king as even nectar when mixed with poison will turn sour just as the coolest water in contact with fire will become warm so was

it that Gotipala the young Brahman having been born and brought up in a family of unbelievers men void of faith thus reviled and abused the Tathâgata after the manner of his kind. And just O king as a flaming and burning mighty fire if even when at the height of its glory it should come into contact with water would cool down with its splendour and glory spoilt and turn to cinders black as rotten blighted<sup>1</sup> fruits—just so O king Gotipâla full as he was of merit and faith, mighty as was the glory of his knowledge yet when reborn into a family of unbelievers of men void of faith he became as it were blind and reviled and abused the Tathagata. But when he had gone to him and had come to know the virtues of the Buddhas which he had then did he become as his hired servant and having renounced the world and entered the Order under the system of the Conqueror he gained the fivefold power of insight and the eightfold power of ecstatic meditation and became assured of rebirth into the Brahma heaven.

‘Very good Nagasena! That is so and I accept it as you say’

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[Here ends the dilemma about Gotipâla]

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Nigguzzi which Hindi kumbure merely repeats. See Gataka III 348 IV 4,6 Dhammapada Commentary p 209 Anguttara IV 199 and Dr Morris's re-oration of Dipavamsa XII 32 in the Introduction to vol. II of his Anguttara.



[DILEMMAS THE FORTY SEVENTH  
THE HELPLESSNESS OF A BUDDHA<sup>1</sup>]

22 Venerable Nāgasena this too has been said by the Blessed One

Ghaṭikāra the potter's dwelling place remained the whole of it for three months open to the sky and no rain fell upon it<sup>1</sup>

But on the other hand it is said

'Rain fell on the hut of Kassapa the Tathagata'

How was it venerable Nāgasena that the hut of a Tathagata the roots of whose merits were so widely spread<sup>2</sup>, got wet? One would think that a Tathagata should have the power to prevent that. If Nāgasena Ghaṭikāra the potter's dwelling was kept dry when it was open to the sky it cannot be true that a Tathagata's hut got wet. But if it did then it must be false that the potter's dwelling was kept dry. This too is a double edged problem now put to you which you have to solve

23 Both the quotations you have made O King are correct. [224] Ghaṭikāra the potter was a good man beautiful in character deeply rooted in merit who supported his old and blind mother and father. And when he was absent the people without so much as asking his leave took away the thatch from his dwelling to roof in with it the hut of the Tathagata. Then unmoved and unshaken at his thatch being thus removed but filled rather

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<sup>1</sup> Both these quotations are from the *Maggħima Nikaya* No. 51 (the *Ghaṭikāra Sutta*)

Ussanna kusala māla. See *Gitaka* I 145

with a well grounded and great joy the like of which cannot be found an immeasurable bliss sprang up in his heart at the thought 'May the Blessed One the chief of the world have full confidence in me And thereby did he obtain merit which brought forth its good result even in this present life

24 and the Tathagata O king was not disturbed by the temporary inconvenience (of the falling rain) Just O king as Sineru the king of the mountains moves not neither is shaken by the onslaught of innumerable gales<sup>1</sup>—just as the mighty ocean the home of the great waters is not filled up neither is disturbed at all by the inflow of innumerable great rivers—just so O king is a Tathagata unmoved at temporary inconvenience

And that the rain fell upon the Tathāgatas hut happened out of consideration for the great masses of the people For there are two circumstances O king which prevent the Tathagatas from themselves supplying (by creative power) any requisite of which they may be in need And what are the two? Men and gods by supplying the requisites of a Buddha on the ground that he is a teacher worthy of gifts will thereby be set free from rebirth in states of woe And lest others should find fault, saying "They seek their livelihood by the working of miracles If O king Sakka had kept that hut dry or even Brahmā himself, even then that action would have been faulty wrong and worthy of censure For people might then say These Buddhas by

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<sup>1</sup> Aneka sata sahasa vāta sampahūtena Perhaps by the battle (raging round it) of innumerable gales the onslaught of the wind being not against it but against one another

Literally from receiving any self created requisite

their dexterity<sup>1</sup> befool and lord it over the world  
That is the reason why such action would have been  
better left undone The Tathagatas O king do  
not ask for any advantage and it is because they  
ask for nothing that they are held blameless

Very good Nāgasena<sup>1</sup> That is so and I accept  
as you say

[Here ends the dilemma about Ghaṭikarā the  
potter]

[DILEMMA TAIL FOR EIGHTH

WHY GOTAMA CLAIMED TO BE A BRAHMAN]

[225] 25 Venerable Nāgasena this too was said  
by the Blessed One

A Brahman am I O brethren devoted to self  
sacrifice

But on the other hand he declared

A king am I Self<sup>2</sup>

If Nāgasena the Blessed One were a Brahman  
then he must have spoken falsely when he said he  
was a king But if he were a king then he must  
have spoken falsely when he said he was a Brahman  
He must have been either a Khattiya or a Brahman  
For he could not have belonged in the same birth  
to two castes This too is a double edged problem  
now put to you, which you have to solve

<sup>1</sup> Vibhūsaṃ katvā Daśia kriyā koṭa says Hinālum  
but The expression has not been found elsewhere

<sup>2</sup> This passage has already been quoted above (IV 4 55) It  
has not been traced in the Pāṭha

<sup>3</sup> These words from the Sūla Sūta (Sutta Nipāta III 7 7) have  
also been already discussed above (IV 3 33 34)

26 Both the quotations you have made O king are correct But there is good reason why the Tathagata should have been both Brahman and also king

Pray what Nāgasena can be that reason ?

Because all evil qualities not productive of merit are in the Tathagata suppressed abandoned put away, dispelled rooted out destroyed come to an end gone out and ceased therefore is it that the Tathagata is called a Brahman<sup>1</sup> A Brahman O king means one who has passed beyond hesitation perplexity and doubt And it is because the Tathagata has done all this that therefore also is he called a Brahman A Brahman O king means one who has escaped from every sort and class of becoming who is entirely set free from evil and from stain who is dependent on himself<sup>2</sup>, and it is because the Tathagata is all of these things that therefore also is he called a Brahman A Brahman O king, means one who cultivates within himself the highest and best of the excellent and supreme

<sup>1</sup> This argument is based on the false etymology that *brahman* = *bāhita* *papo* ( he in whom evil is suppressed ) adopted by Hīnāyāna kumbure above at IV 4 55 Buddhaghosa in the *Sumaṅgalā* p 244 has another derivation *Brahman* = *āvatīti* *brahman* As *Brahman* has not been found elsewhere except as the accusative of *Brahmā* the name of the god and *āvatīti* only occurs in this passage it might be contended that Buddha ghosa means an invoker of Brahma But I think he is correct in his etymology and intends to interpret the word Brahman as intoner of prayer

<sup>2</sup> The Arahant Brahman says Hīnāyāna kumburē

<sup>3</sup> *Asahato* literally has no friend I am not sure that I have rightly understood this term which I have not found elsewhere applied to the Arahant Hīnāyāna kumburē merely repeats the word.

conditions of heart<sup>1</sup> And it is because the Tathāgata does this that therefore also is he called a Brahman A Brahman O king means one who carries on the line of the tradition of the ancient instructors concerning the learning and the teaching of sacred writ concerning the acceptance of gifts concerning subjugation of the senses, self control in conduct and performance of duty And it is because the Tathagata carries on the line of the tradition of the ancient rules enjoined by the Conquerors<sup>2</sup> regarding all these things that therefore also is he called a Brahman [226] A Brahman O king means one who enjoys the supreme bliss of the ecstatic meditation And it is because the Tathagata does this that therefore also is he called a Brahman A Brahman O king means one who knows the course and revolution of births in all forms of existence And it is because the Tathagata knows this that therefore also is he called a Brahman The appellation 'Brahman O king' was not given to the Blessed One by his mother nor his father nor by his brother nor his sister nor by his friends nor his relations nor by spiritual teachers of any sort no not by the gods It is by reason of their emancipation that this is the name of the Buddhas the Blessed Ones From the moment when under the Tree of Wisdom they had overthrown the armies of the Evil One had suppressed in themselves all evil qualities not productive of merit and had attained to the knowledge of the Omniscient

<sup>1</sup> Dīḍḍa vihāro, rendered *divya viharana* by Hīnaśūmbarē It cannot mean here state of being a deva in the *kāmaloka* as rendered by Childers

<sup>2</sup> That is of course, the previous Buddhas

Ones it was from the acquisition of this insight the appearance in them of this enlightenment that this true designation became applied to them—the name of Brahman. And that is the reason why the *Īrahigita* is called a Brahman<sup>1</sup>

27 Then what is the reason why the *Īrahigita* is called a king<sup>2</sup>

A king means O king one who rules and guides the world and the Blessed One rules in righteousness over the ten thousand world systems. He guides the whole world with its men and gods its evil spirits and its good ones and its teachers whether *Sāṃvāsas* or Brahmanas. That is the reason why the *Īrahigita* is called a king. A king means O king one who exalted above all ordinary men, making those related to him rejoice and those opposed to him mourn, raises aloft the Sunshade of Sovereignty of pure and stainless white with its handle of firm hard wood and its many hundred ribs<sup>3</sup>—the symbol of his mighty fame and glory. And the Blessed One O king making the army of the Evil One, those given over to false doctrine mourn, filling the hearts of those among gods or men devoted to sound doctrine with joy [227] raises aloft over the ten thousand world systems the Sunshade of his Sovereignty, pure and stainless in the whiteness of emancipation.

<sup>1</sup> This is a striking instance of argument in a circle. The word Brahman is first interpreted in its technical Buddhist sense of Arahant and then the Buddha as Arahant is called a Brahman. The only paragraph based on the real transition of meaning in the term is that referring to the holding up of tradition.

<sup>2</sup> *Samvāsakam sabbrahmāṇikam* with its *Maras* and Brahmas.

<sup>3</sup> *Arāḥu* says *Hinaṇā kumburē* that is wood from the heart of the tree.

<sup>4</sup> *Salikā* which *Hinaṇā kumburē* repeats adding of the highest wisdom.

with its hundreds of ribs fashioned out of the highest wisdom, with its handle firm and strong through long suffering—the symbol of his mighty fame and glory That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king A king is one who is held worthy of homage by the multitudes who approach him who come into his presence And the Blessed One O king is held worthy of homage by multitudes of beings whether gods or men who approach him who come into his presence That too is the reason why the Tathāgata is called a king A king is one who when pleased with a strenuous servant gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him at his own good pleasure any costly gift the officer may choose<sup>1</sup> And the Blessed One, O king when pleased with any one who has been strenuous in word or deed or thought, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him as a selected gift, the supreme deliverance from all sorrow—far beyond all material gifts That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king A king is one who censures, fines<sup>2</sup>, or executes the man who trans-

<sup>1</sup> *Vaṭṭam vaṭṭam* A gift appropriate to the service approved of says Hināśi kumburē And the word is not in Childers But compare the use of *vaṭṭam vaṭṭati* at Gataka III 493

*Asesa kama vareṇa*, for which Hināśi kumburē has *asesa kamaṇaṭṭarayeṇa* M<sup>r</sup> Trenckner adds a *ḷa*, which as being entirely superfluous he puts in brackets There can be but little doubt that the corrected reading is *asesa kāmavaṭṭaṇaṭṭena* and that the literal rendering would be 'gladdens him by that which has left in it nothing connected with (life in) the world of sense to wit deliverance from all sorrow (that is deliverance from *samsāra*)

*Parimuttī* which I have not found in the Pīṭakas, and which is not in Childers occurs above (p 112 of the Pali text) in the same connection

<sup>2</sup> *Gapeti* See my notes above on vol 1 p 240 and below on VII 3 10 The Sinhalese has here *dhana dānaya karanneja* where *dānaya* must be *gānā*

gresses the royal commands And so O king the man who in shamelessness or discontent transgresses the command of the Blessed One as laid down in the rules of his Order, that man despised disgraced and censured is expelled from the religion of the Conqueror That too is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king A king is one who in his turn proclaiming laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the righteous kings of ancient times and thus carrying on his rule in righteousness becomes beloved and dear to the people, desired in the world and by the force of his righteousness establishes his dynasty long in the land And the Blessed One O king proclaiming in his turn laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the Buddhas of ancient times and thus in righteousness being teacher of the world,—he too is beloved and dear to both gods and men, desired by them and by the force of his righteousness he makes his religion last long in the land That too is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king

‘Thus O king so many are the reasons why the Tathagata should be both Brahman and also king that the ablest of the brethren could scarcely in an æon enumerate them all Why then should I dilate any further? Accept what I have said only in brief

‘Very good Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the Buddha belonging to two castes]



[DILEMMA THE FORTY NINTH  
GIFTS TO THE BUDDHA]

[228] 28 Venerable Nāgasena, it has been said  
by the Blessed One

‘ Gifts chaunted for in sacred hymns  
Are gifts I must not take  
All those who see into the Truth  
Do this their practice make  
The Buddhas all refused to chaunt for wage  
This was their conduct still  
Wheneer the Truth prevailed  
Through every age<sup>1</sup>

But on the other hand the Blessed One, when preaching the Truth or talking of it was in the habit of beginning with the so called ‘ preliminary discourse, in which giving has the first place, and goodness only the second<sup>2</sup>. So that when gods and men heard this discourse of the Blessed One, the lord of the whole world they prepared and gave gifts, and the disciples partook of the alms thus brought about. Now if, Nāgasena, it be true what the Blessed One said that he accepted no gifts earned by the chaunting of sacred words then it was wrong that the Blessed One put giving thus

<sup>1</sup> This stanza occurs no less than five times in those portions of the *Piṭakas* already published. See *Sutta Nipata* I 4 6 and III 4 27 and *Samyutta Nikāya* VII 1 8 VII 1 9 and VII 2 1. The rhythm of the Pali is strikingly beautiful and is quite spoilt in the rendering.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance *Dīgha Nikāya* V 28, *Mahavagga* I, 7 5 and 10, V 1 9 VI 26 8 and *Kullavagga* VI 4 5. As there is a doubt about the spelling Fausbøll at *Gātaka* I 8 and I 30 and our MSS of the *Dīgha* reading *ānupubbī kathā* whereas Childers and Oldenberg read *anupubbī kathā* it is perhaps worth mentioning that the *Sinhalese* has the short *a*.

into the foreground. But if he did rightly in so emphasizing the giving of gifts then it is not true that he accepted no gifts earned by the utterance of sacred words. And why so? Because if any one worthy of offerings should praise to the laity the good results to them of the bestowal of alms they hearing that discourse and pleased with it will proceed to give alms again and again. And then whosoever enjoy that gift they are really enjoying that which has been earned by the utterance of sacred words. This too is a double edged problem now put to you which you have to solve.

29. The stanza you quote O king was spoken by the Blessed One. And yet he used to put the giving of alms into the forefront of his discourse. But this is the custom of all the Tathāgatas—first by discourse on almsgiving to make the hearts of hearers inclined towards it and then afterwards to urge them to righteousness. This is as when men O king give first of all to young children things to play with—[229] such as toy ploughs<sup>1</sup> tip cat sticks<sup>2</sup> toy wind mills<sup>3</sup> measures made of leaves<sup>4</sup> toy carts

<sup>1</sup> All the articles are mentioned in the Dīgha Nikāya I. 1. 14. Buddhaghosa explains the first word (*vaṇṇaṇṇam*) as toy ploughs. Hoops the Indian children do not have probably for want of suitable roads.

<sup>2</sup> *Ghaṭṭikāṇṇam* which is according to Buddhaghosa a game played by striking a short stick with a long one and according to Hīnāṇḍīkumburē the game called in Sinhalese *kullu*. Clough has this word but supplies explains it as a game so called.

<sup>3</sup> *Amṇulakāṇṇam* which is according to Buddhaghosa a little wheel made of cocoa nut leaves which is set turning by the impact of the wind. Hīnāṇḍīkumburē says an *cembarawa* (twirling thing) made of cocoa nut leaves.

<sup>4</sup> *Paṭṭhakāṇṇam*. Buddhaghosa and the Sinhalese agree in rendering this toy measures.

and bows and arrows—and afterwards appoint to each his separate task. Or it is as when a physician first causes his patients to drink oil for four or five days in order to strengthen them and to soften their bodies and then afterwards administers a purge. The supporters of the faith O king the lordly givers have their hearts thus softened made tender affected. Thereby do they cross over to the further shore of the ocean of transmigration by the aid of the boat of their gifts by the support of the cause way of their gifts. And (the Buddha) by this (method in his teaching) is not guilty of intimation<sup>1</sup>

30 Venerable Nagasena when you say 'intimation' what are these intimations?

'There are two sorts O king of intimation—bodily and verbal. And there is one bodily intimation which is wrong and one that is not and there is one verbal intimation which is wrong and one that is not. Which is the bodily intimation which is wrong? Suppose any member of the Order in going his rounds for alms should when choosing a spot to stand on stand where there is no room<sup>2</sup> that is a bodily intimation which is wrong. The true members of the Order will not accept any alms so asked for and the individual who thus acts is despised, looked down upon not respected held blameworthy disregarded not well thought of in the religion of the Noble Ones he is reckoned as

<sup>1</sup> *Vīṇatti*. It is a breach of rules for a member of the Order to ask in words for an alms. For a Buddha to lay stress in a discourse on the advantages of almsgiving does not, Nagasena means make him guilty of this offence.

<sup>2</sup> And thus cause an obstruction and attract attention to the fact that he is there. I do not know of any such prohibition in the Vinaya.

one of those who have broken their (vows as to) means of livelihood. And again O king suppose any member of the Order in going his round for alms should stand where there is no room and stretch out his neck like a peacock on the gaze in the hope. Thus will the folk see me'—that too is a bodily intimation which is wrong. True brethren will not accept an alms so asked for and he who thus acts is regarded like the last. And again O king suppose any member of the Order should make a sign with his jaw or with his eyebrow or with his finger—[230] that too is a bodily intimation which is wrong. True brethren will not accept an alms so asked for and he who thus acts is regarded the same way.

31 And which is the bodily intimation which is not wrong? If a brother on going his round for alms be self-possessed tranquil conscious of his acts if he stand wherever he may go in the kind of spot that is lawful if he stand still where there are people desirous to give and where they are not so desirous if he pass on<sup>1</sup>—that is a bodily intimation which is not wrong. Of an alms so stood for the true members of the Order will partake and the individual who thus asks is in the religion of the Noble Ones praised thought highly of esteemed and reckoned among those whose behaviour is without guile whose mode of livelihood is pure. For thus has it been said by the Blessed One the god over all gods

“The truly wise beg not, for Arahats scorn to beg

<sup>1</sup> The author has *Kullavagga VIII 5 2* in his mind where the signs (of the r being willing or not) are specified

The good stand for their alms thus only do they beg<sup>1</sup>

32 'Which is the verbal intimation which is wrong? In case O king a brother intimate his wish for a number of things requisites of a member of the Order—robes and bowls and bedding and medicine for the sick—that is a verbal intimation which is wrong Things so asked for the true members of the Order (Ariya) will not accept and in the religion of the Noble Ones the individual who acts thus is despised looked down upon, not respected, held blameworthy disregarded not well thought of—reckoned rather as one who has broken his (vows as to) means of livelihood And again O king in case a brother should in the hearing of others speak thus I am in want of such and such a thing and in consequence of that saying being heard by the others he should then get that thing—that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained and he who acts thus is regarded like the last And again O king in case a brother dilating in his talk<sup>2</sup> give the people about him to understand 'Thus and thus should gifts be given to the Bhik

<sup>1</sup> From Gataka III 354 The words are there ascribed not to the Buddha, but to the Bodisat in the story

The word translated Arahats is Ariyâ which is taken here as elsewhere as a dissyllable and pronounced Arya It is the same as our word Aryans and is rendered above Noble Ones I do not think that it is applied exclusively to Arahats.

<sup>2</sup> Vakkî vippharena The expression has not been found elsewhere nor is it in Childers The Sinhalese has dilating on the words obtaining in this religion I presume it means that not content with praising almsgiving in general he particularises Compare Mahāvagga VI 37

thus ' and in case they on hearing that saying should bring forth from their store anything so referred to—that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained and he who acts thus is regarded like the last [231] For when Sâriputta the Elder O king being ill in the night time after the sun had set, and being questioned by Moggallâna the Elder as to what medicine would do him good broke silence and through that breach of silence obtained the medicine—did not Sariputta then saying to himself This medicine has come through breach of silence let not my (adherence to the rules regarding) livelihood be broken reject that medicine and use it not<sup>1</sup> So that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained, and he who acts thus is regarded like the last.

33 And what is the verbal intimation which is right? Suppose a brother O king when there is necessity for it should intimate among families either related to him or which had invited him to spend the season of Was with him<sup>2</sup>, that he is in want of medicines—this is a verbal intimation which is not wrong True members of the Order will partake of things so asked for, and the individual who acts thus is in the religion of the Noble Ones praised thought highly of, esteemed reckoned among those whose mode of livelihood is pure

<sup>1</sup> This story has not yet been traced but the Sinhalese (p 317) gives it at great length

<sup>2</sup> *Āvāṭi pavāritesu kulesu* Compare *Pāṭṭiya* 39 ( *V naya* Texts vol 1, p 39)

approved of the Tathagatas the Arahats the Supreme Buddhas. And the alms that the Tathagata O king refused to accept of Kasi Bhâiadvaga the Brahman<sup>1</sup> that was presented for the sake of testing him with an intricate puzzle which he would have to unwind<sup>2</sup> for the sake of pulling him away of convicting him of error of making him acknowledge himself in the wrong. Therefore was it that the Tathâgata refused that alms and would not partake thereof.

34 Nagasena was it always whenever the Tathagata was eating that the gods infused the Sap of Life from heaven into the contents of his bowl or was it only into those two dishes—the tender boar's flesh and the rice porridge boiled in milk—that they infused it<sup>3</sup>?

Whenever he was eating O king and into each morsel of food as he picked it up—just as the royal cook takes the sauce and pours it over each morsel in the dish while the king is partaking of it<sup>4</sup> [232] And so at Verañgâ when the Tathâgata was eating the cakes<sup>5</sup> made of dried barley the gods moistened each one with the Sap of Life as they placed it

<sup>1</sup> See Sutta Nipâta I 4. The Sinhalese always has a long i in Kasi.

<sup>2</sup> *Âvetthana*. Compare the use of all these terms above, II 1 3 (vol 1, p 46).

<sup>3</sup> There is nothing about this infusion of the Sap of Life (*diḍḍam ogam*) in the published texts of the Pûakas. But it is mentioned in the account in the Gataka Commentary of the second meal referred to (Buddhist Birth Stories p 92). The other is of course the Buddha's last meal 'Book of the Great Decae, IV 14-23 (in my Buddhist Suttas pp 71-73).

<sup>4</sup> *Hīnaśi kumburê* gives here a great deal of additional matter (pp 314-324).

<sup>5</sup> *Pulake* which the Sinhalese renders *peti*.

near him<sup>1</sup> And thus was the body of the Tathagata fully refreshed

Great indeed was the good fortune Nāgasena of those gods that they were ever and always so zealous in their care for the body of the Tathāgata ' Very good Nagasena ' That is so and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the problem as to the Buddha's mode of livelihood]

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[DILEMMA THE FIFTIETH

ON THE BUDDHA'S AFTER DOUBT ]

35 Venerable Nagasena your people say

The Tathāgata gradually through millions of years through æon after æon<sup>2</sup> brought his omniscient wisdom to perfection for the sake of the salvation of the great masses of the people<sup>4</sup>

' But on the other hand (they say)

"Just after" he had attained to omniscience his

---

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure what meal is here referred to The Buddha is twice said to have taken meals at *Veraṅga* (in the *Sutta Vibhanga* pp 6 11 *Pāraṅika* I 2 and I 4) In neither case is there any mention of these cakes But the former of the two may be the one referred to as it took place in a time of drought

<sup>2</sup> Compare my manual *Buddhism* p 41

<sup>3</sup> Literally through four *Asankheyyas* and a lak of *Kappas*

<sup>4</sup> This passage has not yet been traced in the *Piṭakas* and the word *samuddharanā* (rendered 'salvation') does not occur else where in published texts. It means literally 'bringing safe to shore Compare *samuddhaṭṭa* at *Saddhammopāyana* 143 in the *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* for 1887 p 44

<sup>5</sup> See *Vinaya Texts* vol 1 p 8<sub>p</sub> and *Samyutta Nikāya* VI, 1 The words are very slightly different.



heart inclined not to the proclamation of the Truth but to rest in peace

So that Nāgasena just as if an archer or an archer's pupil who had practised archery for many days with the object of fighting should when the day of the great battle had come draw back—just so did the Tathagata who through countless ages had gradually matured his omniscience for the sake of bringing safe to the shore (of salvation) the great masses of the people turn back on the day when that omniscience had been reached from proclaiming the Truth Just as if a wrestler who through many days had practised wrestling should when the day of the wrestling match<sup>1</sup> had come draw back—just so did the Tathagata who through countless ages had gradually matured his omniscience for the sake of bringing safe to the shore (of salvation) the great masses of the people turn back on the day when that omniscience had been reached from proclaiming the Truth

Now was it from fear Nāgasena that the Tathāgata drew back or was it from inability to preach<sup>2</sup> or was it from weakness or was it because he had not after all attained to omniscience? [233] What was the reason of this? Tell me I pray the reason that my doubts may be removed For if for so long a time he had perfected his wisdom with the object of saving the people then the statement that he hesitated to announce the Truth must be wrong But if that be true then the other statement must be false This too is a double edged problem

<sup>1</sup> Compare Sumangala Vilasini p 85

<sup>2</sup> Apāka/ātāya, not found elsewhere I follow the Sinhalese which has boena līy an/a no doenena boēwin

now put to you—a problem profound a knot hard to unravel—which you have to solve

36 The statements in both the passages you quote, O king are correct But that his heart inclined not to the preaching of the truth but to inaction was because he saw on the one hand how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine<sup>1</sup> how hard to grasp and understand how subtle how difficult to penetrate into and on the other how devoted beings are to the satisfaction of their lusts how firmly possessed by false notions of Individualism And so (he wavered) at the thought “Whom shall I teach? And how can I teach him?”—his mind being directed to the idea of the powers of penetration which beings possessed

‘Just O king as an able physician when called in to a patient suffering from a complication of diseases might reflect ‘What can be the treatment what the drug, by which this man’s sickness can be allayed?’—just so O king when the Tathâgata called to mind how afflicted were the people by all the kinds of malady which arise from sin and how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine how subtle and how difficult to grasp then at the thought ‘Whom can I teach? And how shall I teach him?’ did his heart incline rather to inaction than to preaching—[234] his mind being directed to the powers of penetration which beings possessed

And just O king, as a king of royal blood an anointed monarch, when he calls to mind the many

<sup>1</sup> ‘Of Arahatsip is Hinañ-kumburê’s gloss

<sup>2</sup> Saklâya dīṭṭhi. The belief in being instead of in becoming the belief in the permanence of individuality See my Hibbert Lectures pp 211-214

people who gain their livelihood in dependence on the king—the sentries and the body guard the retinue of courtiers the trading folk the soldiers and the royal messengers the ministers and the nobles<sup>1</sup>—might be exercised at the thought How now in what way shall I be able to conciliate them all? —just so when the Tathâgata called to mind how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine how subtle, and how difficult to grasp and how devoted beings were to the satisfaction of their lusts how firmly possessed by false notions of Individualism then at the thought Whom shall I teach? And how shall I teach him? did his heart incline rather to inaction than to preaching—his mind being directed to the powers of penetration which beings possessed

57 And this too is an inherent necessity in all Tathagatas that it should be on the request of Brahmâ that they should proclaim the Dhamma And what is the reason for that? All men in those times with the ascetics and the monks the wandering teachers and the Brahmans were worshippers of Brahmâ reverers of Brahma placed their reliance on Brahma And therefore at the thought 'When so powerful and glorious, so famous and renowned so high and mighty a one has shown himself inclined (to the Dhamma) then will the whole world of gods and men become inclined to it, hold it fitting have faith in it —on this ground, O king the Tathâgatas preached the Dhamma when requested to do so by Brahmâ For just, O king as what a sovran or a minister of state shows homage to or offers worship to, that will the rest of mankind on

<sup>1</sup> On this list see below IV 6 11

the ground of the homage of so powerful a personage show homage to and worship—just so O king when Brahma had paid homage to the Tathagatas so would the whole world of gods and men. For the world O king is a reverer of what is revered. And that is why Brahmā asks of all Tathāgatas that they should make known the Doctrine and why on so being asked they make it known.<sup>1</sup>

Very good Nagasena! The puzzle has been well unravelled most able has been your exposition That is so and I accept it as you say'

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[Here ends the problem as to the Buddha's hesitation to make the Doctrine known]

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### Here ends the Fifth Chapter

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<sup>1</sup> Hīnaśīlumburê here gives a page of description—not found in the Pāli—of the episode of Brahmā's request to the Buddha. The oldest account of this episode has been already translated in vol. xiii of the Sacred Books of the East in Vinaya Texts part 1 pp 84-88.

## BOOK IV CHAPTER 6

## [DILEMMA THE FIFTY FIRST

CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS AS TO THE BUDDHA'S  
TEACHER]

1 [235] Venerable Nagasena this too has been said by the Blessed One

'I have no teacher and the man  
Equal to me does not exist  
No rival to me can be found  
In the whole world of gods and men'

But on the other hand he said

'Thus then O brethren Aśara Kālāma when he was my teacher and I was his pupil, placed me on an equality with himself and honoured me with exceeding great honour<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This verse is found three times in the Piṭakas—in the Mahā vaggā I 6 8 in the Ariya paṇyesana Sutta (Magg'hima Nikāya I 171) and in the Angulmāla Sutta (Magg'hima Nikāya No 86) It occurs with other stanzas of a similar tendency and many of the lines in those stanzas are repeated but with variations and in a different order by the author of the Lalita Vistara (pp 526 527 of Rāgendra Lāl Mitra's edition) One verse is found there in two detached lines which run thus in the Sanskrit —

Ātāryyo na hi me kaskit sadāśso me na vidyate  
and

Sadevāsura-gandharvvo naśi me pratpuḍgalaḥ  
Hinaṭi-kumburē renders paṭipuggalo not by rival but by superior

<sup>2</sup> Mr Trenckner has pointed out that this quotation is found in two Suttas Nos 85 and 100 in the Magg'hima Nikāya.

Now if the former of these statements be right then the second must be wrong. But if the second be right then the first must be wrong. This too is a double edged problem now put to you which you have to solve.

2 Both the quotations you have made O king are accurate. But when he spoke of Aśra Kalāma as his teacher that was a statement made with reference to the fact of his having been his teacher while he (Gotama) was still a Bodisat and before he had attained to insight and to Buddhahood and there were five such teachers O king under whose tuition the Bodisat spent his time in various places—his teachers when he was still a Bodisat before he had attained to insight and to Buddhahood. And who were these five?

3 'Those eight Brahmans who, just after the birth of the Bodisat took note of the marks on his body—[236] Rāma and Dhaga and Lakkhana and Mantī<sup>1</sup> and Yañña<sup>2</sup> and Suyāma and Subhoga<sup>3</sup>, and Sudatta<sup>4</sup>—they who then made known his future glory and marked him out as one to be carefully guarded—these were first his teachers<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hīnaś-kumburē reads Gatimantī. It may be noted that Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism* p 149) who omits Yañña gives Gāti and Manta as two separate names, and spells the last two names Bhoga Sudanta.

<sup>2</sup> So also the *Siṃhalese*, p 329. But the *Gāṭaka Commentary* (verse 270 at vol 1 p 50) has kondañña.

<sup>3</sup> The *Gāṭaka Introduction* (loc cit) has Bhoga. The *Siṃhalese* has Subhoga.

<sup>4</sup> Hīnaś-kumburē agrees here with Hardy in reading Sudanta.

<sup>5</sup> This episode has not been traced in the *Piṭakas*. The *Siṃhalese* here gives also the detail of the one and two fingers, found in the *Gāṭaka* and translated in my *Buddhist Birth Stories* p 72.

And again, O king the Brahman Sabbamitta of distinguished descent who was of high lineage in the land of Udāḷa<sup>1</sup> a philologist and grammarian well read in the six Vedangas, whom Suddhodana the king, the Bodisat's father sent for and having poured out the water of dedication from a golden vase, handed over the boy to his charge to be taught—this was his second teacher<sup>2</sup>

‘And again O king the god who raised the agitation in the Bodisat's heart at the sound of whose speech the Bodisat moved and anxious that very moment went out from the world in his Great Renunciation—this was his third teacher<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the North West See Gataka I 140 &c

<sup>2</sup> *Khaṅgavanin* These are phonetics prosody grammar exegesis astronomy and ritual I was wrong in taking Childers's interpretation of this word at Buddhist Birth Stories p 12

<sup>3</sup> This episode is also not in the Pāṭalas On *onogeti* see Mahāvagga I, 2 18 Sabbamitta is given in the Therā Gāthā I 100 as the name of a Therā and in the Divyavadāna p 420 as the name of Asol's herald or court crier

<sup>4</sup> There is nothing about any such devata in the Pāṭalas Hīnaḥ kumbhū takes it to mean the god who took the outward appearance of the four visions—an old man a sick man, a dead man and a recluse But in that story—which is not related in the Pāṭakas of the Buddha though it is referred to in connection with him at Buddhavaṃsa XXVI, p 16—the god does not speak The only god whose word are said in any of the later Pālī legends to have agitated the Bodisat's heart at that moment, was the Evil One himself and that only in one version of the legend the Pālī authority for which I cannot give It is in Hardy's Manual p 157 where the speech of the Evil One placed at Gataka I 63 at a later time is said to have been made at the moment of the Renunciation Even if it be not a mere blunder of Hardy's to put it at that time still it cannot be the speech referred to by our author For the startling doctrine that the Evil One himself was one of the Bodisat's teachers would never have been smuggled in as it were by concealing the identity of the spirit referred to under

'And again O king Ālara Kālāma—he was his fourth teacher

And again O king Uddaka the son of Rama—he was his fifth teacher

'These O king are the five who were his teachers when he was still a Bodisat, before he had attained to insight and to Buddhahood. But they were teachers in worldly wisdom. And in this Doctrine that is transcendental in the penetrating into the wisdom of the omniscient ones—in that there is no one who is above the Tathāgata to teach him. Self dependent for his knowledge is the Tathāgata without a master, and that is why it was said by the Tathagata

I have no teacher, and the man

Equal to me does not exist.

No rival to me can be found

In the whole world of gods and men'

Very good Nāgasena! That is so and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the Buddha's teachers]

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the generic term of devata. Now in the *Fo pan hin tsu kin* (Nanjio No 680) a Chinese work of the beginning of the seventh century A.D. we find in the sixteenth kwuen or chapter (if one may trust the abstract given in Beals' *Romanic Legend*, p 131) that a Devaputra named Tsao ping is said to have spoken to the Bodisat at the moment of the Renunciation. It is scarcely open to doubt that our author had in his mind an earlier form of that episode. But if so it is the only proved case of his having Sanskrit and not Pāli works as his authority



## [DILEMMA THE FIFTY SECOND]

WHY MUST THERE BE ONLY ONE BUDDHA  
AT A TIME ?]

4 Venerable Nagasena this too was said by the Blessed One

' This is an impossibility an occurrence for which there can be no cause, that in one world two Arahats Buddhas supreme should arise at one and the same time [237]—such a thing can in no wise be<sup>1</sup>

' But Nâgasena when they are preaching all the Tathâgatas preach (the Doctrine as to) the thirty seven constituent elements of insight<sup>2</sup> when they are talking, it is of the Four Noble Truths that they talk when they are instructing it is in the three Trainings<sup>3</sup> that they instruct when they are teaching it is the practice of zeal<sup>4</sup> that they teach If Nâgasena the preaching of all the Tathâgatas is one and their talk of the same thing and their training the same and their teaching one why then should not two Tathagatas arise at the same time ? Already by the appearance of one Buddha has this world become flooded with light If there should be a second Buddha the world would be still more illuminated by the glory of them both When they were exhorting two Tathagatas would exhort at ease when they were instructing two Tathâgatas would instruct at ease Tell me the reason of this' that I may put away my doubt

<sup>1</sup> Anguttara Nikâya I 15 10

<sup>2</sup> These divisions of the seven 'Jewels of the Law' of Arahatship are set out in my Buddhist Suttas pp 62-63

<sup>3</sup> Adhisîla, adhi-kîrtta, and adhipanââ

<sup>4</sup> Appamâda

5 This world system O king is a one Buddha supporting world that is it can bear the virtue of only a single Tathâgata. If a second Tathâgata were to arise the world could not bear him it would shake and tremble it would bend this way and that it would disperse, scatter into pieces dissolve be utterly destroyed. Just as a boat O king might be able to carry one passenger across. Then when one man had got on board it would be well trimmed and able to bear his weight<sup>1</sup>. But if a second man were to come like to the first in age and caste and strength and size and stoutness of body and build of frame and he too should get on board the boat—would that boat be able O king to carry them both<sup>2</sup>?

Certainly not Sir! it would shake and tremble it would bend this way and that it would break into pieces be shattered dissolved and utterly destroyed it would sink into the waves.

Just so O king with this world, if a second Tathâgata were to appear. Or suppose O king that a man [238] had eaten as much food as he wanted even so that he had filled himself with nourishment up to the throat and he—thus satiated regaled filled with good cheer, with no room left for more drowsy and stiff as a stick one cannot bend—were again to eat as much food as he had eaten before—would such a man O king then be at ease<sup>3</sup>?

Certainly not Sir! If he were to eat again but once more he would die.

<sup>1</sup> Samupâdika for which the Sinhalese has sama bura van niya, usûlana sulu wanniya.

<sup>2</sup> Dhato not in Childer but see Gâtaka II 24, Mahāvagga VI 20 1 and below IV 6 29.

‘Well, no more could this world bear a second Tathâgata, than that man could bear a second meal

6 ‘But how is that Nâgasena? Would the earth tremble at a too great weight of goodness?

Suppose O king there were two carts quite filled with precious things up to the top<sup>1</sup>, and people were to take the things from the one cart and pile them up on the other, would that one be able to carry the weight of both?

Certainly not Sir! The nave of its wheels would split and the spokes would break and the circumference would fall to pieces and the axle tree would break in twain<sup>2</sup>

But how is that, O king? Would the cart come to pieces owing to the too great weight of goods?

Yes it would

7 Well just so O king would the earth tremble owing to the too great weight of goodness. But that argument has been adduced to make the power of the Buddhas known<sup>3</sup>. Hear another fitting reason why two Buddhas could not appear at the same

<sup>1</sup> Literally mouth. I presume a small uncovered bullock cart is meant, like that figured in Plate 57 in Cunningham's *Bharhut Tope*. The chariot on the other hand is of the shape given in Plates 3, 34, 35 of Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*. The usual form of the bullock cart has also a hood or cover as clearly shown in Fergusson's Plate No. 65, and Cunningham's Plate No. 34. But the one here referred to cannot have had the cover over it for then the supposition that more goods were piled on to it, when full would be an impossible one. I know of no other passage where the *mukha* literally mouth of a cart is mentioned and I may possibly be wrong in rendering it 'top'.

<sup>2</sup> This simile has already been used in the *Vessantara Dilemma* above I, 173.

<sup>3</sup> Our author himself here confesses that his thoughts are more on edification than on logic.

time If O king two Buddhas were to arise together, then would disputes arise between their followers, and at the words Your Buddha our Buddha, they would divide off into two parties—just as would the followers of two rival powerful ministers of state This is the other [239] reason O king why two Buddhas could not appear at the same time

8 'Hear a further reason, O king why two Buddhas could not appear at the same time If that were so then the passage (of Scripture) that the Buddha is the chief would become false and the passage that the Buddha takes precedence of all would become false and the passage that the Buddha is the best of all would become false And so all those passages where the Buddha is said to be the most excellent the most exalted, the highest of all the peerless one, without an equal, the matchless one who hath neither counterpart nor rival—all would be proved false Accept this reason too as in truth a reason why two Buddhas cannot arise at once.

9 But besides that O king this is a natural characteristic of the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones that one Buddha only should arise in the world And why? By reason of the greatness of the virtue of the all knowing Buddhas Of other things also whatever is mighty in the world is singular The broad earth is great O king, and it is only one The ocean is mighty, and it is only one Sineru, the king of the mountains is great and it is only one Space is mighty and it is only one Sakka (the king of the gods) is great, and he is only one Mâra (the Evil One, Death) is great, and he is only one Mahâ Brahmâ is mighty, and he is only one.

A Tathâgata an Arahata Buddha supreme is great and he is alone in the world. Wherever any one of these spring up then there is no room for a second. And therefore O king, is it that only one Tathâgata an Arahata Buddha supreme, can appear at one time in the world.

'Well has the puzzle Nagasena been discussed by simile adduced and reason given. Even an un-intelligent man on hearing this would be satisfied how much rather one great in wisdom as myself. Very good, Nâgasena! That is so and I accept it as you say.

[Here ends the dilemma as to why there should be only one Buddha at a time in the world.]

#### [DILEMMA THE FIFTY THIRD]

WHY SHOULD GIFTS BE GIVEN TO THE OLDER FATHER THAN TO THE BUDDHA?<sup>1</sup>

[240] 10 'Venerable Nâgasena the Blessed One said to his mother's sister<sup>1</sup>, Mahâ Pagâpatî the Gotamî when she was about to give him a cloth wrapper for use in the rainy season<sup>2</sup>.

Give it O Gotamâ to the Order. If the Order is presented by you with it, then will you have paid homage thereby alike to the Order and to me<sup>3</sup>.

'But what, Nâgasena? Is not the Tathâgata of

<sup>1</sup> There is no general word in Pâli for aunt or uncle. There are separate expressions for each of the degrees of relationship expressed by those words in English—mother's brother father's sister &c.

<sup>2</sup> Vassika saṅkâ. See the note at Vinaya Texts vol. II p. 225 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. XVII).

<sup>3</sup> From the Ganta Sutta (Maggima Nikâya, No. 142). See Mr. Trenckner's note.

greater weight and importance, and more worthy of gifts than even the jewel treasure of the Order, that the Tathâgata should have told his aunt, when about to present him with a wrapper for the rainy season which she herself had carded and pressed and beaten and cut and woven<sup>1</sup>, to give it to the Order! If Nagasena the Tathâgata were really higher and greater and more excellent than the Order, then he would have known that a gift given to him would be most meritorious and therefore would not have told her to give it to the Order. But inasmuch as the Tathagata, Nâgasena, puts himself not in the way of gifts to himself, gives no occasion for such gifts you see that he then told his aunt to give that wrapper rather to the Order.

II 'The quotation you make, O king, is correct and the Blessed One did so direct his aunt's gifts<sup>2</sup>. But that was not because an act of reverence paid to himself would bear no fruit, or because he was unworthy to receive gifts but it was out of kindness and mercy that he, thinking 'Thus will the Order in times to come when I am gone be highly thought of,' magnified the excellence which the Order really had in that he said 'Give it, O Gotamî, to the Order. If you present the Order with it thus will you have paid homage alike to the Order and to me. Just as a father, O king while he is yet alive exalts in the midst of the assembly of ministers, soldiers, and royal messengers of

<sup>1</sup> The translation of these five technical terms of cloth making is doubtful. The Sinhalese (p 335) has *piṅgana sindina pothita, kaṭṭina wiyana* -

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese (p 335) here gives at length the story of Paṇḍita's gift at the time when Gotama returned as the Buddha, to Kapilavatthu.

sentries, body guards and courtiers<sup>1</sup>—yea in the presence of the king himself—the virtues which his son really possesses thinking If established here he will be honoured of the people in times to come so was it out of mercy and kindness that the Tathâgata, thinking “Thus will the Order in times to come when I am gone, be highly thought of” magnified the excellence which the Order really had, in that he said ‘Give it, O Gotamî to the Order If you present the Order with it, thus will you have paid homage alike to the Order and to me’

12 [241] ‘And by the mere gift of a wrapper for the rainy season the Order, O king, did not become greater than, or superior to the Tathâgata Just O king as when parents anoint their children with perfumes, rub them, bathe them or shampoo them<sup>2</sup> does the son by that mere service of theirs become greater than or superior to, his parents<sup>3</sup>

Certainly not sir! Parents deal with their children as they will, whether the children like it or not<sup>3</sup> And therefore do they anoint them with perfumes shampoo, or bathe them

And just so, O king, the Order did not become greater than or superior to the Tathâgata merely by the fact of that gift, and although the Tathâgata whether the Order liked it or not, told his aunt to give the wrapper to the Order

13 ‘Or suppose, O king, some man should bring a complimentary present to a king and the king should present that gift to some one else—to a soldier or a

<sup>1</sup> On this list see above p 234 of the Pâli text (IV 5 36)

<sup>2</sup> On these words compare Anguttara Nikâya II, 4, 2

<sup>3</sup> Akâmakaranîyâ Compare Vimâna Vatthu X, 6 and Dîgha Nikâya II 46

messenger, to a general or a chaplain—would that man become greater than or superior to the king merely by the fact that it was he who got the present<sup>1</sup>?

‘Certainly not Sir! That man receives his wage from the king from the king he gains his livelihood it was the king who, having placed him in that office gave him the present

And just so O king the Order did not become greater than or superior to the Tathâgata merely by the fact of that gift The Order is as it were the hired servant of the Tathâgata and gains its livelihood through the Tathagata And it was the Tathâgata who having placed it in that position caused the gift to be given it

14 ‘And further the Tathâgata O king, thought thus ‘The Order is by its very nature worthy of gifts I will therefore have this thing my property though it be, presented to it and so he had the wrapper given to the Order For the Tathâgata O king, magnifies not the offering of gifts to himself but rather to whomsoever in the world is worthy of having gifts presented to him For this was said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods in the most excellent *Magghima Nikâya* [242] in the religious discourse entitled *Dhamma dâyaâda*, when he was exalting the attainment of being content with little

He would become the first of my Bhikkhus the most worthy of presents and of praise<sup>2</sup>

15 And there is not, O king, in the three worlds

<sup>1</sup> The same simile has already occurred vol 1 p 220 (IV 2, 22)

*Magghima Nikaya* vol. 1 p 13 (in Mr Trenckner's edition for the Pâli Text Society)



any being whatever more worthy of gifts, greater or more exalted or better than the Tathâgata. It is the Tathâgata who was greatest and highest and best. As it was said, O king, by Mânava-gâmika the god in the most excellent Samyutta Nikâya as he stood before the Blessed One in the midst of the assembly of gods and men

“Of all the Râgagaha hills Mount Vipula s acknowledged chief

Of the Himâlayas Mount White of planetary orbs the sun

The ocean of all waters of constellations bright the moon <sup>1</sup>—

In all the world of gods and men the Buddha s the acknowledged Lord <sup>2</sup> !’

‘And those verses of Mânava the god, O king were well sung not wrongly sung well spoken, not wrongly spoken and approved by the Blessed One <sup>3</sup>. And was it not said by Sâriputta, the Commander of the faith

“There is but one Confession one true Faith

One Adoration of clasped hands stretched forth

—That paid to Him who routs the Evil One

And helps us cross the ocean of our ills <sup>4</sup> !

<sup>1</sup> This must have been composed after the moon god had become established in belief as the husband or lord, of the Nakshatras or lunar mansions. For it cannot of course be intended that the moon is itself a constellation.

<sup>2</sup> Samyutta Nikâya III 2 10 (vol 1 p 67 of the Pâli Text Society s edition)

<sup>3</sup> These phrases of approval are commonly used in the Piâkas of words uttered by any one whose sayings would not of themselves carry weight. So in the Dîgha III 1 28 and in the Magghima I, 385

<sup>4</sup> This verse has not yet been traced in the Piâkas. In

And it was said by the Blessed One himself the god over all gods

‘There is one being O brethren who is born into the world for the good and for the weal of the great multitudes out of mercy to the world for the advantage and the good and the weal of gods and men And what is that being? A Tathagata, an Arahāt Buddha supreme<sup>1</sup>

‘Very good Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say’

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the precedence of the Order over the Buddha]

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#### [DILEMMA THE FIFTY FOURTH]

IS IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO BE A LAYMAN, OR TO ENTER THE ORDER?]

16 Venerable Nagasena, it was said by the Blessed One

‘I would magnify O brethren the Supreme Attainment<sup>2</sup> either in a layman or in a recluse Whether he be a layman O brethren, or a recluse the man who has reached the Supreme Attainment

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the Thera Gāthā we have a collection of verses ascribed to Sāriputta but this is not one of them The literal translation is ‘There is but one feeling of faith but one taking of refuge but one stretching forth of the hands (with joined palms in adoration—that paid) to the Buddha who puts to rout the armies of the Evil One and is able to make (us) cross (the ocean of continual becomings) The taking of refuge meant is the confession the repetition of which characterises a man as a Buddhist—I take my refuge in the Buddha, &c’

<sup>1</sup> Anguttara Nikaya I 13 1

That is of insight and of the practice of right conduct

shall overcome all the difficulties inherent therein shall win his way even to the excellent condition of Arahats<sup>1</sup>hip [243]

'Now, Nâgasena if a layman, clad in white robes enjoying the pleasures of sense dwelling in a habitation encumbered with wife and children<sup>2</sup>, making constant use of the sandal wood of Benares<sup>3</sup>, of garlands and perfumes and unguents, accepting gold and silver wearing a turban inlaid with jewels and gold, can having reached the Supreme Attainment win his way to the excellent condition of Arahats<sup>1</sup>hip—and if a recluse, with his shaven head and yellow robes dependent for his livelihood on the alms of other men, perfectly fulfilling the four fold code of morality<sup>4</sup> taking upon himself and carrying out the hundred and fifty precepts<sup>5</sup>, con

<sup>1</sup> Samyutta Nikaya XLIV 24 says Mr Trenckner The passage has not yet been reached in M. Léon Feer's edition for the Pali Text Society Hīmañ kumburê (p 341) renders #âya by nirvâna.

<sup>2</sup> Literally a bed encumbered &c See below, p 348 of the Pali text, where the question as here, is whether such a layman can attain to the Nirvâna of Arahats<sup>1</sup>hip

<sup>3</sup> So the Buddha says of himself (Anguttara Nikâya III 38) that, in the days when he was a layman he never used any sandal wood except that from Benares

<sup>4</sup> I don't know what these four Silakkhandhas are Morality is described in the Piṭakas as threefold fivefold or tenfold according as the Silas in three divisions (as translated in my Buddhist Suttas vol xi of the 'Sacred Books of the East' pp 189-200) are referred to, or the first five or the whole ten of the moral precepts (the Buddhist Ten Commandments) set out in my 'Buddhism' p 160 This reference to four divisions of the moral code is foreign to the Piṭakas at least as we yet know them

<sup>5</sup> The *Diyaaddhesu sikkhâpada satesu* It is clear from the Anguttara Nikâya III, 83 that the precepts referred to are those of the Pâtimokkha (translated by me at the beginning of 'Vinaya

ducting himself according to the thirteen extra vows<sup>1</sup> without omitting any one of them can also having reached the Supreme Attainment win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatsip—then Sir, what is the distinction between the layman and the recluse? Your austerity is without effect your renunciation is useless your observance of the precepts is barren, your taking of the extra vows is vain. What is the good of your therein heaping up woes to yourselves, if thus in comfort the condition of bliss can be reached?

17 The words you ascribe to the Blessed One O king, are rightly quoted. And that is even so. It is the man who has reached to the Supreme Attainment who bears the palm. If the recluse O king, because he knows that he is a recluse should neglect the Attainments, then is he far from the fruits of renunciation, far from Arahatsip—how much more if a layman still wearing the habit of the world, should do so! But whether he be a layman, O king or a recluse he who attains to the supreme insight to the supreme conduct of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatsip.

18 But nevertheless O king, it is the recluse who is the lord and master of the fruit of renunciation. And renunciation of the world, O king, is full of gain, many and immeasurable are its advantages, its profit can no man calculate. Just O king as no man can put a measure, in wealth on the

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Texts vol. xvii of the 'Sacred Books of the East' notwithstanding the fact that the actual number of these rules is 227

<sup>1</sup> The Dhutangas see above, IV 5, 10 and the enumeration below at the translation of p 351 of the Pâli text

value of a wish conferring gem, [244] saying ' Such and such is the price of the gem —just so O king is the renunciation of the world full of gain, many and immeasurable are its advantages its profit can no man calculate—no more O king than he could count the number of the waves in the great ocean, and say So and so many are the waves in the sea !

19 Whatsoever the recluse O king may have yet to do, all that doth he accomplish straightway without delay And why is that ? The recluse O king is content with little, joyful in heart detached from the world apart from society earnest in zeal, without a home without a dwelling place righteous in conduct, in action without guile skilled in duty and in the attainments—that is why whatsoever may lie before him yet to do that can he accomplish straightway, without delay—just as the flight of your javelin<sup>1</sup> O king is rapid because it is of pure metal smooth and burnished, and straight, and without a stain.

' Very good, Nāgasena ! That is so and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the recluse having no advantages over the layman ]

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<sup>1</sup> Nāīāka As Childers expresses a doubt as to the character of this weapon I would refer to the *Magghima* I 429 *Gātaka* III 322 and *Milinda* pp 105 418 (of Mr Trenckner's text)

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY FIFTH  
ASCETICISM]

20 'Venerable Nâgasena when the Bodisat was practising austerity<sup>1</sup> then there was found no other exertion the like of his no such power no such battling against evil no such putting to rout of the armies of the Evil One no such abstinence in food no such austerity of life But finding no satisfaction in strife like that he abandoned that idea, saying

'Not even by this cruel asceticism am I reaching the peculiar faculty, beyond the power of man arising from insight into the knowledge of that which is fit and noble<sup>2</sup> May there not be now some other way to wisdom<sup>3</sup> ?

'But then when weary of that path he had by another way attained to omniscience, he, on the other hand thus again exhorted and instructed his disciple in that path (he had left, saying)

[245] 'Exert yourselves be strong, and to the faith  
The Buddhas taught devote yourselves with zeal  
As a strong elephant a house of reeds,  
Shake down the armies of the Evil One<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Buddhist Birth Stories, pp. 90 91 and *Magghima Nikâya* I 240-246

<sup>2</sup> *Alamariya dassana ñâna visesam* I am not sure of the exact meaning of this compound For *alamariya* the Sinhalese has here (p 343) *sarvagñatâ*, and renders the whole do I arrive at a superhuman condition at the distinctive faculty which is able to see into omniscience and on IV 8, 21 it gives a slightly different but practically identical rendering, I shall not reach that super human condition which can distinguish or which suffices for insight into the supreme omniscience

<sup>3</sup> That is the wisdom of Buddhahood The passage is from the *Magghima Nikâya* I 246 (quoted also below IV 8 21)

<sup>4</sup> This is a very famous stanza It is put into the mouth of

‘Now what, Nāgasena, is the reason that the Tathāgata exhorted and led his disciples to that path which he had himself abandoned which he loathed?’

21 ‘Both then also O king and now too that is still the only path And it is along that path that the Bodisat attained to Buddhahood Although the Bodisat O king exerting himself strenuously reduced the food he took till he had decreased it to nothing at all<sup>1</sup>, and by that disuse of food he became weak in mind yet when he returned little by little to the use of solid food, it was by that path that before long he attained to Buddhahood. And that only has been the path along which all the Tathāgatas reached to the attainment of the insight of omniscience Just as food is the support of all beings, as it is in dependence on food that all beings live at ease just so is that the path of all the Tathāgatas to the attainment of the insight of omniscience The fault was not, O king in the exertion, was not in the power not in the battle waged against evil that the Tathāgata did not then at once, attain to Buddhahood But the fault was in the disuse of food, and the path itself (of austerity) was always ready for use

22 Suppose O king that a man should follow a path in great haste and by that haste his sides

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Abhibhū at Thera Gathā, verse 256 and in the *Samyutta Nikāya* VI, 2 4 §§ 18 and 23 and also in its Sanskrit form into the mouth of the Buddha at the *Divyāvadāna* p 300 and into the mouth of the gods at *ibid* p 569 It is possibly another instance of our author having Sanskrit and not Pāli authorities in his mind that he ascribes it here to the Buddha and not to Abhibhū the Elder

<sup>1</sup> The *Sinhalese* has here six pages of description of the austerities not found in the Pāli text.

should give way<sup>1</sup>, or he should fall a cripple on the ground, unable to move, would there then be any fault O king, in the broad earth that that man's sides had given way?

Certainly not Sir! The great earth is always ready How should it be in fault? The fault was in the man's own zeal which made him fail

And just even so, O king the fault was not in the exertion not in the power not in the battle waged against evil that the Tathâgata did not then, at once attain to Buddhahood But the fault was in the disuse of food, and the path itself was always ready—[246] just as if a man should wear a robe and never have it washed, the fault would not be in the water, which would always be ready for use, but in the man himself That is why the Tathâgata exhorted and led his disciples along that very path For that path, O king is always ready, always right

'Very good Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the dilemma as to the path]

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<sup>1</sup> Pakkha hato should become like one whose two hands are ruined says the Sinhalese here (p 349) but at p 411 (on p 276 of the Pâli) it translates the same term 'whose hands and feet are broken It is literally should become side destroyed and may mean paralysed



## [DILEMMA THE FIFTY SIXTH

## THE BACKSLIDERS ]

23 'Venerable Nagasena, this doctrine of the Tathâgatas is mighty, essentially true precious excellent noble peerless pure and stainless, clear and faultless It is not right to admit a layman who is merely a disciple<sup>1</sup> into the Order He should be instructed as a layman still, till he have attained to the Fruit of the First Path<sup>2</sup> and then be admitted. And why is this? When these men still being evil have been admitted into a religion so pure, they give it up and return again to the lower state<sup>3</sup> and by their backsliding the people is led to think "Vain must be this religion of the Samana Gotama, which these men have given up This is the reason for what I say'

24 'Suppose O king, there were a bathing tank<sup>4</sup> full of pure clear cold water And some man dirty covered with stains and mud should come there and without bathing in it should turn back again still dirty as before Now in that matter whom would the people blame, the dirty man, or the bathing tank?

'The dirty man Sir would the people blame

<sup>1</sup> *Tâva/akam* I take this word, in the sense of 'mere' as an accusative in agreement with *gihim* (see the use of the word at pp 107 115 241 of the Pâli text), and not as an accusative of motion into so great a *sâsanam*

<sup>2</sup> That is till he be converted till he has entered the stream See Buddhism p 101

<sup>3</sup> That is, of a layman

<sup>4</sup> *Ta/âka*, which Childers wrongly renders pond pool lake It is always an artificial tank reservoir See *Kullavagga* X 1 6, *Gâtaka* I 239, *Mihnda*, pp 66 81, 296

saying ' This fellow came to the bathing tank and has gone back as dirty as before How could the bathing tank of itself cleanse a man who did not care to bathe ? What fault is there in the tank ? "

' Just so O king [247] has the Tathâgata constructed a bathing tank full of the excellent waters of emancipation<sup>1</sup>—the bath of the good law Who soever of conscious discerning beings are polluted with the stains of sin they bathing in it can wash away all their sins And if any one having gone to that bathing tank of the good law should not bathe in it but turn back polluted as before and return again to the lower state, it is him the people would blame, and say ' This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors and finding no resting place within it has returned again to the lower state How could the religion of the Conquerors of itself cleanse him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it ? What fault is there in the system ?

25 Or suppose O king, that a man afflicted with dire disease should visit a physician skilled in diagnosis<sup>2</sup>, knowing an efficacious and lasting method of cure, and that that man should then not let himself be treated but go back again as ill as before Now therein whom would the people blame, the sick man or the doctor ?

' It is the sick man Sir, they would blame say

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<sup>1</sup> Vimutti of the nectar of the Nirvâna which is the highest fruit of Arahatsip is Hinañi kumburê's gloss

<sup>2</sup> Roguppattî kusalam killed in the threefold origin of disease says the Sinhalese (p 351) See also pp 248, 272 of the Pâli text.

ing 'How could the physician of himself cure this man who would not let himself be treated? What fault is there in the doctor?'

'Just so O king has the Tathâgata deposited in the casket of his religion the ambrosial medicine (of Nirvana) which is able to entirely suppress all the sickness of sin thinking May all those of conscious sentient beings who are afflicted with the sickness of sin drink of this ambrosia and so allay all their disease And if any one without drinking the ambrosia should turn back again with the evil still within him and return once more to the lower state it is he whom the people will blame saying

This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors and finding no resting place within it has returned again to the lower state How could the religion of the Conquerors of itself cure him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it? What fault is there in the system?

<sup>1</sup>26 'Or suppose O king a starving man were to attend at a place where a mighty largesse of food<sup>2</sup> given for charity was being distributed, and then should go away again still starving, without eating anything Whom then would the people blame, the starving man or the feast of piety?

It is the starving man Su, they would blame, saying [248] "This fellow though tormented with hunger, still when the feast of piety was provided for him partook of nothing and went back as hungry as before How could the meal of which he

<sup>1</sup> The Sinhalese (p 352) inserts here Give me Su I pray you another simile and then goes on Then suppose O king &c

<sup>2</sup> Bhatta perhaps rice as the food par excellence

would not eat enter of itself, into his mouth? What fault is there in the food?"

Just so O king, has the Tathâgata placed the most excellent, good auspicious delicate ambrosial food, surpassing sweet of the realisation of the impermanency of all things<sup>1</sup> into the casket of his religion thinking "May all those of conscious sentient beings who feel within them the torment of sin<sup>2</sup>, whose hearts are deadened by cravings, feeding upon this food, allay every longing that they have for future life in any form, in any world" And if any one, without enjoying this food should turn back still dominated by his cravings, and return once more to the lower state it is he whom the people will blame, saying ' This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, and finding no resting-place within it has returned again to the lower state How could the religion of the Conquerors of itself purify him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it? What fault is there in the system?

27 If the Tathâgata O king had let a house holder be received into the Order only after he had been trained in the first stage of the Excellent Way, then would renunciation of the world no longer indeed be said to avail for the putting away of evil qualities for purification of heart—then would there be no longer any use in renunciation It would be as if a man were to have a bathing tank excavated

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<sup>1</sup> Kayâgata sati literally 'intentness of mind on (the truth relating to) bodies

<sup>2</sup> Kilesa-kilant agghattâ. Compare *khâttagghattam* Gâtaka I 345

by the labour of hundreds (of workpeople<sup>1</sup>), and were then to have a public announcement made

Let no one who is dirty go down into this tank !  
Let only those whose dust and dirt have been washed away who are purified and stainless, go down into this tank ! ' Now would that bath O king, be of any use to those thus purified and stainless ? '

Certainly not Sir ! The advantage they would have sought in going into the bath they would have already gained elsewhere Of what use would the bath be to them then ?

Just so O king had the Tathagata ordained that only laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order then would the advantage they seek in it have been already gained Of what use would the renunciation be to them then ?

28 Or suppose O king that a physician a true follower of the sages of old<sup>2</sup>, one who carries (in his memory) the ancient traditions and verses<sup>3</sup> a practical man<sup>4</sup>, skilled in diagnosis and master of an efficacious and lasting system of treatment who had collected (from medicinal herbs) a medicine able to cure every disease, were to have it announced [249]

Let none, Sirs, who are ill come to visit me ! Let the

<sup>1</sup> Stonemasons and sculptors are implied as well as navvies Compare my note at Buddhist Suttas p. 62

<sup>2</sup> *Sabhāva issi bhattiko* Compare *Siva bhattiko* (Saivite) at *Mahāvamsa* chapter 93 line 17 In *rāga bhattiko* (above p. 142 of the Pāli text) the connotation is different The Sinhalese (p. 353) repeats the phrase

<sup>3</sup> *Suta manta dharo*, which the Sinhalese repeats

<sup>4</sup> *Atakkiko* 'without the theories (*vitarka*) resorted to by those ignorant of the practice of medicine' says *Hinaṁ kumburē*.

healthy and the strong visit me! Now would then, O king those men free from illness and disease healthy and jubilant get what they wanted from that physician ?'

Certainly not, Sir! What men want from a physician that would they have already obtained otherwise What use would the physician be to them ?'

Just so O king, had the Tathâgata ordained that only those laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order then would the advantages they seek in it have been already gained elsewhere Of what use would the renunciation be to them then ?

29 Or suppose O king that some had had many hundreds of dishes of boiled milk rice prepared<sup>1</sup>, and were to have it announced to those about him

Let not Sirs any hungry man approach to this feast of charity Let those who have well fed the satisfied refreshed, and satiated<sup>2</sup> those who have regaled themselves and are filled with good cheer—let them come to the feast Now would any advantage O king, be derived from the feast by those men thus well fed satisfied refreshed, satiated regaled and filled with good cheer ?'

Certainly not, Sir! The very advantage they would seek in going to the feast that would they have already attained elsewhere What good would the feast be to them ?'

Just so O king had the Tathâgata ordained that

<sup>1</sup> As Agâtasattva is said to have done for Devadatta at *Gâtaka* I 186

<sup>2</sup> See above IV 6 5

only those laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order thus would the advantages they seek in it have been already gained elsewhere. Of what use would the renunciation be to them ?

30 But notwithstanding that O king they who return to the lower state manifest thereby five immeasurably good qualities in the religion of the Conquerors. And what are the five ? They show how glorious is the state (which those have reached who have entered the Order) how purified it is from every stain, how impossible it is for the sinful to dwell within it together (with the good), how difficult it is to realise (its glory) how many are the restraints to be observed within it

31 And how do they show the mighty glory of that state ? Just O king as if a man poor, and of low birth without distinction<sup>1</sup> deficient in wisdom, were to come into possession of a great and mighty kingdom it would not be long before he would be overthrown utterly destroyed and deprived of his glory. For he would be unable to support his dignity [250] And why so ? Because of the greatness thereof. Just so is it O king, that whosoever are without distinction have acquired no merit and are devoid of wisdom when they renounce the world according to the religion of the Conquerors then unable to bear that most excellent renunciation overthrown fallen and deprived of their glory they return to the lower state. For they are unable to

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<sup>1</sup> Nibbāsa, not in Childers, but see, for instance, *Gātaka* II 32

<sup>2</sup> Paridhamsati. Compare below IV 7 8 (p 265 of the Pāli)

carry out the doctrine of the Conquerors And why so? Because of the exalted nature of the condition which that doctrine brings about Thus is it O king that they show forth the mighty glory of that state

32 And how do they show how purified that state is from every stain? Just O king as water, when it has fallen upon a lotus, flows away disperses scatters disappears adheres not to it And why so? Because of the lotus being pure from any spot Just so O king when whosoever are deceitful, tricky crafty treacherous holders of lawless opinions have been admitted into the religion of the Conquerors it is not long before they disperse and scatter, and fall from that pure and stainless, clear and faultless<sup>1</sup> most high and excellent religion and finding no standing place in it adhering no longer to it, they return to the lower state And why so? Because the religion of the Conquerors has been purified from every stain Thus is it O king that they show forth the purity of that state from every stain

33 And how do they show how impossible it is for the sinful to dwell within it together with the good? Just O king as the great ocean does not tolerate the continuance in it of a dead corpse<sup>2</sup>, but whatever corpse may be in the sea that does it bring quickly to the shore, and cast it out on to the dry land And why so? Because the ocean is

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<sup>1</sup> *Nikkantala pandara* literally thornless and yellow white. The second of these epithets of the religion (*sâsana*) is applied to it above, IV, 6, 23 (p 250 of the Pâli) The Sinhalese merely repeats them

<sup>2</sup> On this curious belief see the note above on IV 3 39 (p 187 of the Pâli)



the abode of mighty creatures Just so O king, when whosoever are sinful, foolish with their zeal evaporated distressed, impure and bad have been admitted into the religion of the Conquerors it is not long before they abandon that religion and dwelling no longer in it—the abode of the mighty the Arahats purified, and free from the Great Evils<sup>1</sup>—they return to the lower state And why so? Because it is impossible for the wicked to dwell in the religion of the Conquerors Thus is it O king, that they show forth the impossibility of the sinful to abide within it together with the good

34 And how do they show how difficult a state it is to grasp? Just O king, as archers who are clumsy, untrained ignorant and bereft of skill are incapable of high feats of archery, such as hair splitting<sup>2</sup>, but miss the object, and shoot beyond the mark And why so? Because of the fineness and minuteness of the horse-hair [251] Just so O king, when foolish stupid imbecile<sup>3</sup> dull, slow minded

<sup>1</sup> They are lust dulness delusion and ignorance

<sup>2</sup> *Vālaggavedham* 'hair splitting,' which is also used in the *Piṭakas* in the secondary sense we too have given to it

<sup>3</sup> *Elamūga*, supposed to mean literally deaf and dumb but often (if not always) used in this secondary sense See *Gāṭaka* I 247 248 (where both MSS read *elamūga*) and *Maggāṇima* *Nikāya* I, 20 (where Mr Trenckner has an interesting note) In both places the fifth century commentators explain the word by *lala mukha* 'drivelling' supposing it to be derived from *ela* saliva, and *mukha* mouth This is certainly wrong for the last part of the compound is *mūka* 'dumb' The fact is that the word was a puzzle even then The meaning assigned to it by both Pāli and Sanskrit lexicographers of 'deaf and dumb' has not yet been confirmed by a single passage either in Pāli or Sanskrit And as *eḍa*, 'sheep' is common in both in its longer form of *eḍaka* *eḷaka*, the compound probably meant originally as dumb

fellows renounce the world according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, then they, unable to grasp the exquisitely fine and subtle distinctions of the Four Truths missing them going beyond them turn back before long to the lower state. And why so? Because it is so difficult to penetrate into the finenesses and subtleties of the Truths. This is how they show forth the difficulty of its realisation.

35 And how do they show how many are the restraints to be observed within it? Just, O king as a man who had gone to a place where a mighty battle was going on, when surrounded on all sides by the forces of the enemy, he sees the armed hosts crowding in upon him, will give way turn back and take to flight. And why so? Out of fear lest he should not be saved in the midst of so hot a fight. Just so O king when whosoever are wicked<sup>1</sup> unrestrained shameless, foolish full of ill will, fickle, unsteady mean and stupid renounce the world under the system of the Conquerors, then they unable to carry out the manifold precepts, give way turn back and take to flight and so before long return to the lower state. And why so? Because of the multiform nature of the restraints to be observed in the religion of the Conquerors. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the manifoldness of the restraints to be observed.

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as a sheep which would be a quite satisfactory basis for the secondary sense of imbecile in which alone it can be traced in Pāli. For the Sanskrit form *eḍamūka* Böhtlingk Roth give only lexicographers as authority. So *ela*, 'salva' is in Pāli only a lexicographer's word and may have been invented to explain *eḍamūka* and *aneḷagālā vālā* as at Sumangala, p 282.

<sup>1</sup> Pākata. Hīnaśī kumburē says (p 356) *pāpakalāwū*, which suggests a different reading.

36 As on that best of flowering shrubs, O king the double jasmine<sup>1</sup>, there may be flowers that have been pierced by insects and their tender stalks being cut to pieces, they may occasionally fall down. But by their having fallen is not the jasmine bush disgraced. For the flowers that still remain upon it pervade every direction with their exquisite perfume. Just so O king whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors, return again to the lower state are like jasmine flowers bitten by the insects and deprived of their colour and their smell colourless as it were in their behaviour and incapable of development. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame. For the members of the Order who remain in the religion pervade the world of gods and men with the exquisite perfume of their right conduct.

37 Among rice plants that are healthy [252] and ruddy there may spring up a kind of rice plant called Karumbhaka<sup>2</sup>, and that may occasionally fade. But by its fading are not the red rice plants disgraced. For those that remain become the food of kings. Just so O king whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state they, like Karumbhaka plants among the red rice may grow not nor attain development and may even occasionally relapse into the lower state. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame.

<sup>1</sup> Vassikâ. So also above IV 3 32 (p 183 of the Pāli)

<sup>2</sup> A yellowish white kawalu sort says Hīnaśi Lumburē and Clough renders kāwalu by a species of panic grass (*panicum glaucum*). The word has only been found in this passage.

for the brethren that remain stedfast become fitted even for Arahatsip

38 'On one side O king, of a wish conferring gem a roughness' may arise But by the appearance of that roughness is not the gem disgraced For the purity that remains in the gem fills the people with gladness And just so, O king who soever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state, they may be rough ones and fallen ones in the religion But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame, for the brethren who remain stedfast are the cause of joy springing up in the hearts of gods and men

39 Even red sandal wood of the purest sort O king may become in some portion of it rotten and scentless But thereby is not the sandal wood disgraced For that portion which remains wholesome and sweet scatters and diffuses its perfume all around And just so O king whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state, they, like the rotten part of the sandal wood may be as it were thrown away in the religion But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame. For the brethren who remain stedfast pervade, with the sandal wood perfume of their right conduct the world of gods and men

Very good, Nāgasena! By one appropriate simile after another, by one correct analogy after another have you most excellently made clear the

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<sup>1</sup> Kakkasam The Sinhalese (p 357) has left out this clause evidently by mistake only

faultlessness of the system of the Conquerors and shown it free from blame And even those who have lapsed make evident how excellent that system is

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[Here ends the dilemma as to those who  
have lapsed ]

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[DILEMMA THE FIFTY SEVENTH

WHY HAVE ARAHATS NO POWER OVER THEIR BODIES?]

40 Venerable Nāgasena your (members of the Order) say [253]

‘ There is one kind of pain only which an Arahāt suffers bodily pain that is, and not mental<sup>1</sup>

‘ How is this Nāgasena ? The Arahāt keeps his mind going by means of the body Has the Arahāt no lordship, no mastery, no power over the body ?

No he has not, O king

‘ That Sir is not right that over the body, by which he keeps his mind going he should have neither lordship nor mastery nor power Even a bird Sir is lord and master and ruler over the nest in which he dwells

41 There are these ten qualities O king, in herent in the body which run after it as it were and accompany it from existence to existence<sup>2</sup> And what are the ten ? Cold and heat, hunger and thirst

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<sup>1</sup> This passage has not yet been traced in the *Piṭakas*. An almost identical phrase has already been quoted, as said by the Buddha himself at II, 1 4 (p 44 of the Pali)

<sup>2</sup> Bhāve bhāve anuparivattanti See IV, 4 41 (p 204 of the Pāli)

the necessity of voiding excreta fatigue and sleepiness, old age disease and death And in respect thereof the Arahāt is without lordship without mastery without power

Venerable Nāgasena what is the reason why the commands of the Arahāt have no power over his body neither has he any mastery over it? Tell me that

‘Just O king as whatever beings are dependent on the land they all walk, and dwell and carry on their business in dependence upon it But do their commands have force does their mastery extend over it?’

Certainly not Sir!

Just so, O king the Arahāt keeps his mind going through the body And yet his commands have no authority over it nor power

42 ‘Venerable Nagasena, why is it that the ordinary man suffers both bodily and mental pain?’

By reason O king of the untrained state of his mind Just O king as an ox when trembling with starvation might be tied up with a weak and fragile and tiny rope of grass or creeper But if the ox were excited<sup>1</sup> then would he escape, dragging the fastening with him Just so, O king, when pain comes upon him whose mind is untrained then is his mind excited and the mind so excited bends his body this way and that and makes it grovel on the ground, [254] and he, being thus untrained in mind trembles<sup>2</sup> and cries and gives forth terrible

<sup>1</sup> Parīkupatī not in Childers but see above, IV 1 38 (p 118 of the Pak)

<sup>2</sup> Tasatī Mr Trenckner points out (p 431) that two MSS

groans This is why the ordinary man O king, suffers pain as well in body as in mind

43 Then why Sir, does the Arahāt only suffer one kind of pain—bodily that is and not mental ?

‘ The mind of the Arahāt O king, is trained well practised, tamed brought into subjection, and obedient and it hearkens to his word When affected with feelings of pain he grasps firmly the idea of the impermanence of all things so ties his mind as it were to the post of contemplation and his mind, bound to the post of contemplation remains unmoved unshaken becomes steadfast wanders not—though his body the while may bend this way and that and roll in agony by the disturbing influence of the pain This is why it is only one kind of pain that the Arahāt suffers—bodily pain, that is and not mental

44 Venerable Nagasena that verily is a most marvellous thing that when the body is trembling the mind should not be shaken Give me a reason for that

‘ Suppose O king there were a noble tree mighty in trunk and branches and leaves And when agitated by the force of the wind its branches should wave Would the trunk also move ?

‘ Certainly not Sir !

Well O king the mind of the Arahāt is as the trunk of that noble tree

<sup>1</sup> Most wonderful, Nâgasena, and most strange !

read *rasatī* and one *saratī* The Sinhalese rendering (p 359) *bhaya wanneya* confirms the reading he has adopted

<sup>1</sup> The Sinhalese (p 360) has four lines here that are not in the Pāli

Never before have I seen a lamp of the law that  
burned thus brightly through all time

[Here ends the dilemma as to the Arahāt's  
power over his body]

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-EIGHTH  
THE LAYMAN'S SIN]

45 [255] Venerable Nāgasena suppose a layman  
had been guilty of a Pârâgika offence<sup>1</sup> and some  
time after should enter the Order. And neither he  
himself should be aware that when still a layman  
he had so been guilty nor should any one else inform  
him saying 'When a layman you were guilty of  
such an offence.' Now if he were to devote himself  
to the attainment of Arahātship would he be able so  
to comprehend the Truth as to succeed in entering  
upon the Excellent Way?

No, O king he would not

But why not Sir?

That in him, which might have been the cause  
of his grasping the Truth has been in him destroyed.  
No comprehension can therefore take place.

46 Venerable Nagasena, your people say

To him who is aware (of an offence) there comes

<sup>1</sup> This, for a member of the Order would be either unchastity  
theft, murder or putting forward false claims to extraordinary  
holiness. See Vinaya Texts part 1 pp 3-5. But Hīna/  
kumburê takes the word Pârâgika here in the sense of matricide,  
parricide injuring a Bo Tree, murder of an Arahāt wounding a  
Tathâgata, or rape of a nun.

<sup>2</sup> Tathattâya. Rahat phala pīṇisa pīṇipadane vī nam  
says the Sinhalese (p 361)



remorse When remorse has arisen there is an obstruction in the heart To him whose heart is obstructed there is no comprehension of the Truth<sup>1</sup> ’

Why should there then be no such comprehension to one not aware of his offence feeling no remorse remaining with a quiet heart This dilemma touches on two irreconcilable statements Think well before you solve it

47 ‘Would selected seed<sup>2</sup> O king, successfully sown in a well ploughed well watered fertile soil come to maturity?’

Certainly Sir!

‘But would the same seed grow on the surface of a thick slab of rock?’

Of course not.’

Why then should the same seed grow in the mud, and not on the rock?

Because on the rock the cause for its growth does not exist Seeds cannot grow without a cause

Just so O king, the cause by reason of which his comprehension of the Truth (his conversion) might have been brought about has been rooted out in him Conversion cannot take place without a cause

48 ‘[Give me, Sir another simile.]

‘Well O king will sticks and clods and cudgels<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage has not yet been traced in the *Puṭakas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāradam* bigam Seed which will give *sāra* It has nothing to do with *sāradam* autumn’ See *Samyutta Nikāya* XXII 24

<sup>3</sup> Added from the *Sinhalese* (p 362) It is not in the *Pāli*.

<sup>4</sup> *Lakuḍa* not in Childers But see below (p 301 of the *Pāli* text) It is probably the same Dravidian word as appears in the Sanskrit dictionaries as *laguḍa*

and clubs find a resting place in the air in the same way as they do on the ground ?

No Sir

But what is the reason why they come to rest on the earth when they will not stand in the air ?

There is no cause in the air for their stability and without a cause they will [256] not stand

Just so, O king by that fault of his the cause for his conversion has been removed And without a cause there can be no conversion Now will fire O king, burn in water in the same way as it will on land ?

'No, Sir

But why not ?

Because in water the conditions precedent for burning do not exist And there can be no burning without them'

Just so, O king are the conditions precedent to conversion destroyed in him by that offence of his And when the conditions which would bring it about are destroyed there can be no conversion

49 Venerable Nagasena think over this matter once more I am not yet convinced about it Persuade me by some reason how such obstruction can occur in the case of one not aware of his offence and feeling therefore no remorse

Would the Halāhala<sup>1</sup> poison O king, if eaten by

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<sup>1</sup> There is a curious confusion about this word It is found in post Buddhistic Sanskrit in the sense of a particular sort of strong poison, and in this sense it occurs also in the *Gātaka Commentary* I, 271 III 103, and in the *Tela karāha gāthā*, verse 82 In none of these passages is the nature of the poison at all explained it is taken for granted as a well known powerful poison But above (p 122 of the Pāli) and at *Gātaka* I 47 48 it is used in

a man who did not know he had eaten it take away his life ?

Yes Sir

Just so O king is there an obstruction to his comprehension of the Truth who without being aware of it has committed a sin And would fire O king, burn a man who walked into it unawares ?

Yes Sir

Well just so in the case you put Or would a venomous snake if it bit a man without his knowing it kill him ?

Yes Sir

Well just so in the case you put And is it not true that Samana Kolañña the king of Kalinga —when surrounded by the seven treasures of a sovereign overlord he went mounted on his state elephant to pay a visit to his relatives —was not able to pass the Tree of Wisdom though he was not aware that it was there<sup>1</sup> Well of the same kind is the reason why one who has committed an offence even though he know it not is nevertheless incapable of rising to the knowledge of the Truth

‘Verily Nagasena this must be the word of the Conqueror To find any fault with it were vain And this (explanation of yours) must be the meaning of it I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma of the layman's sin]

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the sense of kolāhala noise (compare the Sanskrit halahala used as a cry or call) In this sense it is probably a mere imitation of the supposed sound. In the sense of poison its derivation is doubtful

<sup>1</sup> This must be the incident referred to at Gâtika IV 23 though the name of the king is given (on the previous page) simply as Kālingo and not as Samana kolañña

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY NINTH  
THE GUILTY RECLUSE]

50 [257] 'Venerable Nâgasena what is the distinction, what the difference between a layman who has done wrong, and a Samana (member of the Order) who has done wrong? Will they both be reborn in like condition? Will the like retribution happen to both? Or is there any difference?

'There are O king, ten qualities which abound in the guilty Samana distinguishing him from the guilty layman And besides that in ten ways does the Samana purify the gifts that may be given him

51 'And what are the ten qualities which abound in the guilty Samana, distinguishing him from the guilty layman? The guilty Samana O king is full of reverence for the Buddha for the Law for the Order and for his fellow disciples, he exerts himself in putting questions about and in recitation of (the sacred texts) he is devoted to learning though he has done wrong Then O king the guilty one entering the assembly enters it decently clad he guards himself alike in body and mind through fear of rebuke his mind is set upon exerting himself (towards the attainment of Arahatsip), he is of the companionship of the brethren And even O king if he does wrong he lives discreetly Just O king as a married woman sins only in secret and in privacy, so does the guilty Samana walk discreetly in his wrongdoing These are the ten qualities, O king found in the guilty Samana, distinguishing him from the guilty layman

52 'And what are the ten ways in which, besides

he purifies a gift given to him<sup>2</sup> He purifies it in that he wears an invulnerable coat of mail<sup>1</sup> in that he is shorn in the fashion of the characteristic mark of renunciation used by the seers of old, in that he is one who is included in the multitude of the brethren in that he has taken his refuge in the Buddha the Law and the Order in that he dwells in a lonely spot suitable for the exertion (after Arahatsip) in that he seeks after the treasure of the teaching of the Conquerors in that he preaches the most excellent law (Dhamma) in that his final destiny is to be reborn in the island of truth<sup>3</sup> in that he is possessed of an honest belief that the Buddha is the chief of all beings, in that he has taken upon himself the keeping of the Uposatha day These O king are the ten ways in which, besides he purifies a gift given to him

53 [258] Even O king when thoroughly fallen a guilty Samana yet sanctifies the gifts of the supporters of the faith—just as water however thick will wash away slush and mud and dirt and stains—just as hot and even boiling water will put a mighty blazing fire out—just as food however nasty will allay the faintness of hunger For thus O king hath it been said by the god over all gods in the most excellent *Magghima Nikaya* in the chapter On gifts<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The threefold robes the Arahad dhaga for the suppression of all evil worn by all the Buddhas adds the *Sinhalese* (p 364) Compare above vol 1 p 190

<sup>2</sup> The Rishis who were gaining the Swarga moksha adds the *Sinhalese* (It was before the days of Arahatsip)

<sup>3</sup> Dhamma dīpa that is to reach Arahatsip Nirvāṇa Compare the *Gāthaka stanza*, IV 121, verse 3

<sup>4</sup> The *Dakkhiṇā Vibhanga* No 12 in the *Vibhanga Vagga* No 142 in the whole *Nikāya*.

'Whene'er a good man with believing heart  
Presents what he hath earned in righteousness  
To th' unrighteous—in full confidence  
On the great fruit to follow the good act—  
Such gift is by the giver sanctified

'Most wonderful, Nâgasena, and most strange!  
We asked you a mere ordinary question, and you,  
expounding it with reasons and with similes  
have filled as it were the hearer with the sweet  
taste of the nectar (of Nirvâna<sup>1</sup>) Just as a cook,  
or a cook's apprentice taking a piece of ordinary  
nutmeg, will treating it with various ingredients,  
prepare a dish for a king—so, Nâgasena, when  
we asked you an ordinary question, have you,  
expounding it with reasons and similes filled the  
hearer with the sweet taste of the nectar of Nirvâna

[Here ends the dilemma as to the guilty recluse]

<sup>1</sup> Amata madhuram savanupagam akâsi Hînaṁ kumbure (p 365) understands this differently and has apparently read amataṁ madhuram For he translates 'filled the hearer with the taste of Nirvâna and adorned the least of the people with the ear ring of Arahatsip It is difficult to see where he finds the least of the people and there is no authority for rendering savanupagam by ear ring Amata as an epithet of the state of mind called by Western writers Nirvana (which is only one of many names applied in the Buddhist books themselves to Arahatsip) has nothing to do with immortality As this wrong notion of the use of the word has led to much confusion, I have considered in an appendix all the passages in which the epithet occurs

[DILEMMA THE SIXTIETH  
THE SOUL IN WATER]

54 'Venerable Nâgasena this water when boiling over the fire gives forth many a sound hissing and simmering<sup>1</sup> Is then, Nagasena, the water alive? Is it shouting at play? [259] or is it crying out at the torment inflicted on it?

'It is not alive O king there is no soul or being in water It is by reason of the greatness of the shock of the heat of the fire that it gives forth sounds hissing and simmering

Now venerable Nâgasena there are false teachers who on the ground that the water is alive reject the use of cold water and warming the water feed them selves on tepid foods of various kinds<sup>2</sup>

These men find fault with you and revile you, saying 'The Sakyaputtiya Samanas do injury to the souls of one function<sup>3</sup> Dispel remove get rid of this their censure and blame

55 The water is not alive O king Neither is there therein either soul or being And it is the

<sup>1</sup> *Kīkīlāyati kīlīlāyati* The English words entirely fail in representing the sound of these striking words (in which the *k* is pronounced a. ch) They recur Mahāvagga VI 26 7 and Puggala Paññatti 3 14

<sup>2</sup> *Vekāṭika vekāṭikam*. Hīnaś kumburē renders this by *hunu hunuyem* and *hunu* is the Pāli *unha*. But the expression may be compared with *vikāṭa* filth (used for food) at Mahāvagga VI 14 6 On the belief of the Gains in the water life see the Āyâranga Sutta I 1 3 (in vol xxii of the S B E p 5)

<sup>3</sup> *Ekindriyam gīvam* The belief in such a soul is to be understood as held by the teachers referred to not by Buddhists Hīnaś kumburē's translation implies that the one function meant is *prāṇa* Compare the heretical opinions described in the Dīgha II 20 and 26

great shock of the heat of the fire that makes it sound hissing and simmering. It is like the water in holes in the ground in ponds and pools and lakes in reservoirs in crevices and chasms in wells in low lying places and in lotus tanks<sup>1</sup> which before the mighty onset of the hot winds<sup>2</sup> is so deeply affected that it vanishes away. But does the water in that case O king give forth many a sound hissing and simmering?

‘Certainly not Sir

But, if it were alive the water would then also make some sound. Know therefore O king that there is no soul neither being in water, and that it is the greatness of the shock of the heat of the water that makes it give forth sounds

56 And hear another reason O king for the same thing. If water O king with grains of rice in it is put in a vessel and covered up but not placed over the fireplace, would it then give forth sound?’

‘No Sir. It would remain quiet and unmoved

‘But if you were to put the same water just as it is in the vessel over a fireplace<sup>3</sup>, and then light up the fire would the water remain quiet and motionless?’

<sup>1</sup> This list recurs in almost identical terms below p. 296 (of the Pāli text). See also above II. 1. 10 (vol. I p. 55).

<sup>2</sup> Vātātapa not heat and wind as Böhtlingk Roth understand it in their rendering of vātātapika. See Vinaya Texts III. 159 and Samyutta XXII. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Uddhane. This word is always rendered oven in the dictionaries. But I doubt whether there were ovens at all in our sense in those times and in any case the word certainly means a fireplace made of bits of brick between which the wood for the fire is laid. We must imagine the bricks to be laid, as a general rule in a triangle. I have often seen both Sinhalese peasants, and Tamils from the Madras Presidency boiling their rice in the open over such extemporised fireplaces in pots either placed on the



Certainly not Sir It would move and be agitated, become perturbed and all in commotion waves would arise in it it would rush up and down and in every direction [260], it would roll up and boil over<sup>1</sup> and a garland of foam would be formed above it

bricks or more usually suspended from three sticks meeting above the centre of the space between the bricks That this, and this only is the sense in which the word is used in Pali is clear from a comparison of the passages in which it is used, though of course in huts the fireplace, though of the same kind, would be a more permanent structure I have not traced the word in the *Piṭakas* In the *Gāṭaka Commentary* I 68 we find that smoke usually rises *uddhanato* This it would not do from an oven. At *Gāṭaka* I, 33 and *Dhammapada Commentary* 176 *uddhane aropetvā* must mean lifted up on to not put into At *Gāṭaka* I, 346 the speaker says he will take the *uddhana kapallāni*, and the rice with ingredients for the curry up on to the flat roof of the house and there cook and eat them These are the bits of brick to make not an oven but a fireplace of At *Gāṭaka* II 133 the husband wrings the neck of the parrot (the parrot of the *Arabian Nights* chap 2, I may add) and throws it *uddhanantaresu* into the space (between the bricks) of the fireplace At *Gāṭaka* III 178 and *Dhammapada Commentary* 263 we hear of meat boiled on the *uddhana* In the *Rasavāhini* (quoted in the *Journal of the Pālī Text Society*, 1884 p 53) the context shows that a fireplace or hearth not an oven, is meant. Finally above (p 118 of the *Pālī*) we hear of a cauldron being mounted on to an *uddhana*, and the fire being lighted under it

The derivation is uncertain The Sanskrit lexicographers give various forms of the word—always with the meaning oven—*uddhāna udvana uddhmāna* (this last probably influenced by a supposition that the word was connected with *dham*) The *Sinhalese* is *uduna* and though fireplace is better than oven, we have really no corresponding word in English The gypsies who are Indian in origin should have a name for it But I only find in their vocabularies *yogongo tan*, which means simply *aggrīhāna*.

<sup>1</sup> *Uttarati patarati Itirennaya potirennaya* says the *Sinhalese*.

But why so O king when water in its ordinary state remains quiet and motionless?

It is because of the powerful impulse of the heat of the fire that the water usually so still gives forth many a sound bubbling and hissing<sup>1</sup>

Then thereby know O king, that there is no soul in water neither being, and that it is the strong heat of the fire that causes it to make sounds

57 And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing Is there not water to be found in every house put into water pots with their mouths closed up?

Yes Sir'

Well does that water move is it agitated perturbed in commotion does it form into waves, does it rush up and down and in every direction does it roll up and roll over<sup>2</sup> is it covered with foam?

No! That water is in its ordinary state It remains still and quiet'

But have you ever heard that all this is true of the water in the great ocean? and that rearing up<sup>3</sup> it breaks against the strand with a mighty roar?

Yes, I have both heard of it and have seen it myself—how the water in the great ocean lifts itself up a hundred, two hundred cubits high, towards the sky

But why whereas water in its ordinary state remains motionless and still, does the water in the ocean both move and roar?

That is by reason of the mighty force of the

<sup>1</sup> Uttarati patarati the second of which the Sinhalese (p 368) omits here See p 117 of the Pali

<sup>2</sup> Ussakkivā continually pumping up says the Sinhalese

onset of the wind whereas the water in the water-jars neither moves nor makes any noise, because nothing shakes it

Well the sounds given forth by boiling water are the result in a similar way, [261] of the great heat of the fire

58 'Do not people cover over the dried up mouth of a drum<sup>1</sup> with dried cow leather?'

Yes they do'

Well is there any soul or being O king in a drum?

Certainly not Sir

Then how is it that a drum makes sounds?

By the action or effort of a woman or a man

Well, just as that is why the drum sounds so is it by the effect of the heat of the fire that the water sounds. And for this reason also you might know O king that there is no soul, neither being in water and that it is the heat of the fire which causes it to make sounds<sup>2</sup>

59 And I too O king have something yet further to ask of you—thus shall this puzzle be thoroughly threshed out. How is it? Is it true of every kind of vessel that water heated in it makes noises or only of some kinds of vessels?

'Not of all, Sir. Only of some

But then you have yourself, O king abandoned the position you took up. You have come over to my side—that there is no soul neither being in water. For only if it made noises in whatever

<sup>1</sup> Bheri pokkharam which the Sinhalese renders bheri mukha. Compare Vimāna Vātthu 18 10, where pokkhara is a sort of drum.

<sup>2</sup> A similar analogy has been used above vol. 1 p. 48

vessel it were heated could it be right to say that it had a soul. There cannot be two kinds of water—that which speaks, as it were, which is alive, and that which does not speak, and does not live. If all water were alive then that which the great elephants when they are in rut suck up in their trunks and pour out over their towering frames or putting into their mouths take right into their stomachs—that water, too, when crushed flat between their teeth, would make a sound. And great ships, a hundred cubits long heavily laden full of hundreds of packages of goods, pass over the sea—the water crushed by them, too would make sounds [262] And mighty fish, leviathans with bodies hundreds of leagues long<sup>1</sup>, since they dwell in the great ocean immersed in the depths of it must, so living in it be constantly taking into their mouths and spouting out the ocean—and that water too crushed between their gills or in their stomach would make sounds. But as even when tormented with the grinding and crushing of all such mighty things the water gives no sound, therefore O king, you may take it that there is no soul, neither being in water.

‘Very good, Nagasena! With fitting discrimination has the puzzle put to you<sup>2</sup> been solved. Just, Nâgasena as a gem of inestimable value which had come into the hands of an able master goldsmith clever and well trained, would meet with due appreciation, estimation, and praise—just as a rare pearl

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<sup>1</sup> Their names are given. On this belief see above III 7 10 (vol 1 p 130) and Kullavagga IX 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Desâgato, based on the teaching of the Omniscient One says Hīnaṁ kumburē who therefore apparently read desanagato.

at the hands of a dealer in pearls a fine piece of woven stuff at the hands of a cloth merchant<sup>1</sup> or red sandal wood at the hands of a perfumer—just so in that way has this puzzle put to you been solved with the discrimination it deserved

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the water life]

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Here ends the Sixth Chapter<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dussika a word only found so far as I know here and below at V 4 (p 331 of the Pāli) where see the note

<sup>2</sup> Sakala gana mano mandaniyya wu sri saddharmā dāsayehi sha/wana vargaya nīmiyeja says the Sinhalese

# BOOK IV CHAPTER

## [DILEMMA THE SIXTY FIRST

### THE OBSTACLES ]

1 'Venerable Nāgasena the Blessed One said

Live O brethren devoted to and taking delight in that which has no Papañkās (none of those states of mind which delay or obstruct a man in his spiritual growth<sup>1</sup>)'

'What is that which has no Papañkās?'

'The fruit of Conversion has no Papañkās O king the fruit of that stage of the Path in which those live who will be only once or not all reborn the fruit of Arahātship has no Papañkās

'But if that be so Nāgasena [263] then why do the brethren concern themselves with recitation of, with asking questions about the discourses and the pieces in mixed prose and verse and the expositions and the poems and the outbursts of emotion, and the passages beginning Thus he said, and the birth stories and the tales of wonder, and the extended treatises<sup>2</sup>? Why do they trouble themselves about new buildings<sup>3</sup>, about gifts and offerings to the Order?'

<sup>1</sup> This passage has not yet been traced in the Pīṭakas

<sup>2</sup> These are the well known navagaṇi the nine divisions into which the Scriptures are divided See Magghima Nikāya I, 133 Anguttara Nikāya IV 6 &c

<sup>3</sup> Navakammēna paḷibugganti The Sinhalese adds khanda phulla paṭisamkharanāyēn repairing dilapidations

2 'They who do all these things O king are working towards attainment of freedom from the *Papañkās* (that is of Arahats<sup>1</sup>) For whereas O king all those of the brethren who are pure by nature those upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth<sup>2</sup> can (get rid of the *Papañkās*, can) become Arahats, in a moment—those on the other hand whose minds are much darkened by evil<sup>3</sup> can only become Arahats by such means as these

3 'Just, O king as while one man who has sown a field and got the seed to grow can by the exertion of his own power and without any rampart or fence reap the crop—whereas another man when he has got the seed to grow must go into the woods and cut down sticks and branches and make a fence of them, and thus only reap the crop—in the same way those who are pure by nature upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth can in a moment become Arahats, like the man who gathers the crop without a fence But those on the other hand whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only become Arahats by such means as these—like the man who can only reap his crop if he builds the fence

4 'Or just, O king as there might be a bunch of fruits on the summit of a lofty mango tree. Then

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<sup>1</sup> This is (very properly) added in the Sinhalese for the two are practically identical Hereafter it throughout renders *nippapañko* hoti by become an Arahats.

<sup>2</sup> *Vāsita vāsanā* See above vol 1, p. 18

<sup>3</sup> *Mahārāgakkhā* evil done both in this and in former births is here to be understood

whoever possesses the power of Iddhi could take those fruits<sup>1</sup> but whoever had not he would have first to cut sticks and creepers and construct a ladder, and by its means climb up the tree and so get at the fruit. In the same way those who are by nature pure and upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth may attain, in a moment to Arahatship like the man getting the fruit by the power of Iddhi. But those on the other hand, whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only become Arahats by such means as these like the man who only gets the fruit by means of the ladder he has made.

5 [264] 'Or just O king as while one man who is clever in business will go alone to his lord and conclude any business he has to do another man rich though he may be must by his riches bring others to his service, and by their help get the business done—and it is for the business' sake that he has to seek after them. In the same way those who are by nature pure, upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth may reach in a moment, to the attainment of the Six Transcendent Qualities<sup>2</sup>, like the man who does the business alone by himself. Whereas those brethren whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only by such means as these realise the gains of renunciation, like the man who through others help brings his business to the desired end.

<sup>1</sup> By the simple process of going through the air to the top of the tree

<sup>2</sup> Chasu abh aññasu vasibhāvaṃ pāpuṇanti



6 For recitation is of great good O king and asking questions and superintending building work and seeing to gifts and offerings is of great good—each of them to one or other of the spiritual objects which the brethren seek to obtain Just O king as there might be some one of the ministers or soldiers or messengers or sentries or body guards or attendants who was especially serviceable and useful to the king but when he had any business given him to do they would all help him—just so are all these things of assistance when those objects have to be attained When all men O king, shall have become by nature pure, then will there be nothing left for a teacher<sup>1</sup> to accomplish But so long as there is still need of discipleship<sup>2</sup> so long will even such a man, O king as the Elder Sâriputta himself (though he had attained to the summit of wisdom by reason of his having been, through countless ages deeply rooted in merit) yet find it impossible without discipleship to attain to Arahatsip<sup>3</sup> Therefore is it O king that hearing (the Scriptures) is of use and recitation of them and asking questions about them And therefore is it that those also who are addicted to

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<sup>1</sup> Who is a Buddha adds *Hīnaṁ kumburē* (p 372)

<sup>2</sup> *Savanena* literally bearing

<sup>3</sup> *Āsavakkhayaṃ* literally to the destruction of the *Āsavas* that is of the Great Evils which are lust dulness becoming and ignorance Mr Trenckner marks this passage as corrupt, but *Hīnaṁ kumburē* seems to have had the same reading before him as Mr Trenckner has selected from his MSS except that he has not had any mark of punctuation after the word *hoti*

The particular occasion on which Sâriputta became finally free from the *Āsavas* is related in the *Dīghanakha Suttanta* No 74 in the *Maggima Nikaya* (vol 1 p 50 of Mr Trenckner's edition for the Pāli Text Society)

these things becoming free from the obstacles thereto attain to Arahatsip<sup>1</sup>

Right well have you made me understand this puzzle Nāgasena That is so and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the obstacles]

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[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-SECOND

THE LAY ARAHAT]

7 Venerable Nāgasena, your people say

Whosoever has attained, as a layman to Arahatsip, one of two conditions are possible to him and no other—either that very day he enters the Order or he dies away for beyond that day he cannot last<sup>2</sup>

[265] Now if Nāgasena he could not on that day, procure a teacher or preceptor or a bowl and set of robes<sup>3</sup>, would he then being an Arahatsip admit himself, or would he live over the day or would some other Arahatsip suddenly appear by the power of Iddhi and admit him or would he die away?

‘He could not, O king because he is an Arahatsip admit himself For any one admitting himself to

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<sup>1</sup> Literally ‘therefore is it that recitation &c is a condition free from the obstacles and unmade (the Unmade being also one of the many epithets of Arahatsip)

<sup>2</sup> This passage has not yet been traced in the Pīṭakas

<sup>3</sup> All these are necessary to one who is a candidate for admission to the Order—the teacher and preceptor being as it were his proposer and seconder and no one being admitted who is not already provided with a bowl and a set of robes.

the Order is guilty of theft<sup>1</sup> And he could not last beyond that day Whether another Arahāt should happen or not to arrive on that very day would he die away

Then Nagasena by whatever means attained the holy condition of Arahātship is thereby also lost for destruction of life is involved in it

8 It is the condition of laymanship which is at fault O king In that faulty condition and by reason of the weakness of the condition itself, the layman who, as such has attained to Arahātship must either that very day enter the Order or die away That is not the fault of Arahātship O king It is laymanship that is at fault through not being strong enough

Just O king as food that guards the growth and protects the life of all beings will through indigestion take away the life of one whose stomach is unequal to it, whose internal fire is low and weak—just so if a layman attains Arahātship when in that condition unequal to it then by reason of the weakness of the condition he must that very day either enter the Order or die away

Or just O king as a tiny blade of grass when a heavy rock is placed upon it will through its weakness break off and give way—just so when a layman attains Arahātship then unable to support Arahātship in that condition he must that very day, either enter the Order or die away

Or just O king, as a poor weak fellow of low birth and little ability, if he came into possession of

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<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as he would be taking a dress to which he was not entitled is Hīnañ-kumbure's gloss

a great and mighty kingdom would be unable to support the dignity of it<sup>1</sup>—just so if a layman attains to Arahatship then is he unable in that condition to support it [266] And that is the reason why he must on that very day either enter the Order or die away

‘Very good, Nagasena! That is so and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the dilemma as to the lay Arahats]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY THIRD]

THE FAULTS OF THE ARAHAT]

9 ‘Venerable Nāgasena can an Arahats be thoughtless<sup>2</sup>?

The Arahats O king have put thoughtlessness far from them They are never inadvertent’

‘But can an Arahats be guilty of an offence?

Yes O king

In what respect?

In the construction of his cell<sup>3</sup>, or in his intercourse (with the other sex)<sup>4</sup>, or in imagining the wrong time (for the midday meal) to be the right

<sup>1</sup> We have had the same simile above IV 6 30

Compare the note on *Kullavagga* V 9 5

<sup>2</sup> Which must not exceed certain dimensions &c See the 6th *Samghadisesa* (Vinaya Texts I pp 8 9)

<sup>3</sup> *Saṅkharitte* Perhaps only the 5th *Samghadisesa* (loc cit) is here referred to but *Hināḥ kumburē* (p 375) takes it in a much more extended sense as referring to all the restrictions as to time and place &c laid down for the guidance of the brethren in their relations with women.

time<sup>1</sup>, or when he has been invited (to a meal<sup>2</sup>) forgetting the invitation or in taking to be left over<sup>3</sup> food which has not been left over

But venerable Nāgasena your people say

Those who commit offences do so from one of two reasons either out of carelessness or out of ignorance<sup>4</sup>

Now, is the Arahat careless that he commits offences?

No O king

Then if the Arahat commits offences and yet is not careless he must be capable of thoughtlessness<sup>5</sup>

He is not capable of thoughtlessness and yet the Arahat may be guilty of offences

'Convince me then by 1 reason What is the reason of this?'

10 There are two kinds of sins O king—those which are a breach of the ordinary moral law, and those which are a breach of the Rules (of the Order) And what is a breach of the ordinary moral law? The ten modes of evil action<sup>6</sup> (killing theft

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that the well known rule as to not eating solid food after sunturn at noon is not expressly stated in the *Pauṃsukha* or indeed anywhere in the *Viṇaya*. But it is often implied. See for instance the 37th *Pāṭiṇya* Rule. *Mahāvagga* VI 19 2 VI 33 2 VI, 40 3. *Kullavagga* V 25 &c

<sup>2</sup> See the *Pāṭiṇya* Rules Nos 3 and 46

<sup>3</sup> A *Bhikkhu* may not except for certain special reasons such as sickness either keep or eat food which has been left over after the principal meal. See the 30th *Pāṭiṇya* Rule. *Hināḥ kumburē* (pp 374-376) goes at great length into the full meaning of these five technical terms of the Buddhist Canon Law giving examples under each.

<sup>4</sup> Not traced as yet. Ignorance of the *Sikkhapadas* says the *Sinhalese* (p 376)

<sup>5</sup> *Dasa akusala kamma patisaṃ*. See Childers' *Sutta* voce

unchastity lying slander harsh language frivolous talk covetousness malice, and false doctrine) These things are against the moral law And what is a breach of the Rules? Whatever is held in the world as unfitting and improper for Samanas but is not wrong for laymen—things concerning which the Blessed One laid down rules for his disciples not to be transgressed by them their lives long Eating after sunturn O king is not wrong to those in the world but is wrong to those in the religion (the Order) of the Conquerors Doing injury to trees and shrubs is no offence in the eyes of the world but it is wrong in the religion The habit of sporting in the water is no offence to a layman but it is wrong in the religion And many other things of a similar kind O king are right in the world but wrong in the religion of the Conquerors This is what I mean by a breach of the Rules Now the Arahat (he in whom the Great Evils are destroyed) is incapable of sinning against whatever is moral law, but he may unawares be guilty of an offence against the rules of the Order [267] It is not within the province of every Arahat to know everything nor indeed in his power He may be ignorant of the personal or family name of some woman or some man He may be ignorant of some road over the earth But every Arahat would know about emancipation and the Arahat gifted with the six modes of transcendental knowledge<sup>1</sup> would know what lies within their scope, and an omniscient Tathâgata, O king would know all things

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<sup>1</sup> Cha/abhiññô—which every Arahat is not

Very good Nagasena! That is so and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the dilemma as to the faults of the Arahats]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY FOURTH]

WHAT IS BUT NOT IN THE WORLD]

II 'Venerable Nagasena, there are to be seen in the world Buddhas, and Paṭṭhaka-Buddhas and disciples of the Tathāgatas, and sovran overlords and kings over one country and gods and men — we find rich and poor happy and miserable — we find men who have become women and women who have become men—there are good deeds and evil and beings experiencing the result of their virtue or their vice —we find creatures born from eggs and in the water and in sediment or springing into life by the mere apparitional birth, creatures without feet bipeds and quadrupeds and creatures with many feet —we find Yakkhas and Rakkhasas and Kum bhandās and Asuras and Dānavas, and Gandhabbas and Petas and Pisākas and Kinnaras and Mahoragas, and Nāgas and Supannas<sup>1</sup> and magicians and soicerers —there are elephants and horses and cattle and buffaloes and camels and asses and goats, and sheep and deer and swine and lions and tigers and leopards and bears, and wolves and hyenas, and dogs and jackals and many kinds of birds,—there is gold and silver and the pearl and

<sup>1</sup> Fairies and goblins of various degrees and powers most of them not mentioned in the Pīṭakas

the diamond, and the chalk and rock and coral and the ruby and the Masara stone and the cat's-eye and crystal and quartz and iron ore<sup>1</sup> and copper and brass<sup>2</sup> and bronze —there is flax and silk and cotton and hem<sup>3</sup> and wool,—there is rice, and paddy and barley and millet and kudrûsa grain and beans<sup>4</sup> and wheat and oilseed and vetches —there are perfumes prepared from roots and sap and pith, and bark and [268] leaves and flowers and fruit and of all other sorts,—we find grass and creepers and shrubs and trees and medicinal herbs and forests and rivers and mountains and seas and fish and tortoises—all is in the world Tell me Sir what there is then which is not in the world<sup>5</sup>

12 There are three things O king which you cannot find in the world And what are the three? That which whether conscious or unconscious, is not subject to decay and death—that you will not find That quality of anything, (organic or inorganic) which is not impermanent—that you will not find And in the highest sense there is no such thing as being possessed of being<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *kaṭṭa loha* black metal (not found in the *Piṭakas*)

<sup>2</sup> *vaṭṭa loha* round metal I can only guess what this is The Sinhalese has simply *vaṭṭa loha* which is equally unintelligible The word occurs again below (p. 331 of the Pali), and *Hināṇi kumburē* the c renders it *tceṭṭi* which is a particular kind of brazen vessel

<sup>3</sup> Two kinds are mentioned *sana* and *bhanga* I don't know the difference between them The Sinhalese has *sana* and *ban kâlpê*

<sup>4</sup> Three kinds of Phaseolus are mentioned *Varaka Mugga* and *Mâsa*

<sup>5</sup> *Paramatthena sattûpaladdhi natthi* It is very curious



Very good Nāgasena! That is so and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the puzzle as to what is not  
in the world]

[DILEMMA THE TWENTY-FIFTH  
THINGS WITHOUT A CAUSE]

1, Venerable Nāgasena the e are found beings in the world who have come into existence through Karma and others who are the result of a cause and others produced by the seasons! Tell me—is there anything that does not fall under any one of these three heads?

There are two such things O king. And what are the two? Space O king and Nāgasa-

Now do not spoil the word of the Conquerors Nāgasena nor answer a question without knowing what you say!

What pray is it I have said O king that you should address me thus?

‘Venerable Nāgasena that is right what you said in respect of space. But with hundreds of reasons

that both here and in the analogous phrase at III 5, 6 (p. 101 of the Pali) *Himvā kumbhū* should merely repeat the words in the text. Both of these curt summaries of the deepest Buddhist doctrine were probably as ambiguous to him as they are to us. The literal translation of the phrase here would be ‘In the highest sense there is no acquisition of a being. As in Buddhism being cannot strictly be predicated of any thing or of any god or animal or man—each is really only becoming—the sense probably meant must be very nearly as I have ventured to render.

<sup>1</sup> *Utu nibbattā*, which the Sinhalese repeats. See the next dilemma on Karma born, cause born and season born.

did the Blessed One proclaim to his disciples the way to the realisation of Nirvāṇa. And yet you say that Nirvāṇa is not the result of any cause<sup>1</sup>

'No doubt, O King, the Blessed One gave hundreds of reasons for our entering on the way to the realisation of Nirvāṇa. But he never told us of a cause out of which Nirvāṇa could be said to be produced.

14 Now in this Nāgasena we have passed from darkness into greater darkness [269] from a jungle into a denser jungle from a thicket into a deeper thicket—inasmuch as you say there is a cause for the realisation of Nirvāṇa but no cause from which it can arise. If Nāgasena there be a cause of the realisation of Nirvāṇa then we must expect to find a cause of the origin of Nirvāṇa. Just Nāgasena as because the son has a father, therefore we ought to expect that that father had a father—or because the pupil has a teacher therefore we ought to expect that the teacher had a teacher—or because the plant came from a seed therefore we ought to expect that the seed too had come from a seed<sup>1</sup>—so Nāgasena if there be a reason for the realisation of Nirvāṇa we ought to expect that there is a reason too for its origin—just as if we saw the top of a tree or of a creeper we should conclude that it had a middle part and a root.

Nirvāṇa, O king, is unproduceable, and no cause for its origin has been declared.

'Come now Nāgasena give me a reason for this. Convince me by argument, so that I may know how

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the argument based above II 3, 2 on this and similar series.

it is that while there is a cause that will bring about the realisation of Nirvâna there is no cause that will bring about Nirvâna itself

15 'Then O king give ear attentively and listen well and I will tell you what the reason is. Could a man O king by his ordinary power go up from hence to the Himâlaya the king of mountains ?

Yes Sir he could

But could a man by his ordinary power bring the Himâlaya mountains here ?

Certainly not Sir

'Well' therefore is it that while a cause for the realisation of Nirvâna can be declared the cause of its origin can not. And could a man O king by his ordinary power cross over the great ocean in a ship and so go to the further shore of it ?

Yes Sir he could

'But could a man [270] by his ordinary power bring the further shore of the ocean here ?

Certainly not Sir

Well' so is it that while a cause for the realisation of Nirvâna can be declared, the cause of its origin can not. And why not ? Because Nirvâna is not put together of any qualities

16 What, Sir' is it not put together ?

No O king. It is un compounded not made of anything. Of Nirvâna, O king, it cannot be said that it has been produced or not been produced, or that it can be produced<sup>1</sup> that it is past or future or present that it is perceptible by the eye or the ear or the nose or the tongue or by the sense of touch

'But if so, Nâgasena then you are only showing

<sup>1</sup> The Sinhalese is here (p 381) expanded

us how Nirvāṇa is a condition that does not exist. There can be no such thing as Nirvāṇa.

Nirvāṇa exists, O king. And it is perceptible to the mind. By means of his pure heart refined and straight, free from the obstacles<sup>2</sup>, free from low cravings that disciple of the Noble Ones who has fully attained can see Nirvāṇa.

1/ Then what, Sir, is Nirvāṇa<sup>3</sup>? Such a Nirvāṇa (I mean) as can be explained by similes<sup>4</sup>. Convince me by argument how far the fact of its existence can be explained by similes.

Is there such a thing, O king, as wind?

Yes, of course.

Show it me then, I pray you, O king—whether by its colour or its form, whether as thin or thick or short or long<sup>1</sup>.

'But wind, Nagasena, cannot be pointed out in that way<sup>2</sup>. It is not of such a nature that it can be taken into the hand or squeezed. But it exists all the same.

If you can't show me the wind, then there can't be such a thing.

But I know there is, Nagasena. That wind

<sup>1</sup> *Natthidhammam nibbinam upadisatha*. Compare the use of *atthi dhammam nibbanam* at p. 316 (of the Pāli). I take the compound to mean either 'has the quality (or condition) of not existing' or 'is a condition that is no'. And the latter is more in harmony with the analogous phrase *atthisattā deva* (p. 317 of the Pāli) since that can only mean 'gods which are beings that are'.

<sup>2</sup> Lust, malice, pride, sloth and doubt.

<sup>3</sup> *Hinaṇ kumourē* puts the stop not after *nibbanam* as Mr. Trenckner does, but after *opammehi*.

<sup>4</sup> On the connotation of *upadassayitum* see pp. 316, 347 of the Pāli.

exists I am convinced <sup>1</sup> [271] though I cannot show it you

Well ' just so O king does Nirvāṇa exist though it cannot be shown to you in colour or in form <sup>2</sup>

Very good Nāgasena ! That is so and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma as to Nirvāṇa]

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[DILEMMA THE SIXTY SEVENTH  
MODUS OF INTRODUCTION]

18 ' Venerable Nāgasena what are they who are said in this connection to be Karma born and cause born and season born ? And what is it that is none of these ?

All beings O king who are conscious are Karma born (spring into existence as the result of Karma) Fine and all things growing out of seeds are cause born (the result of a pre existing material cause) The earth and the hills water and wind—all these are season born (depend for their existence on reasons connected with weather) Space and Nirvāṇa exist independently alike of Karma and cause

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<sup>1</sup> *Me hadiye anupavīṭṭham* literally has entered into my heart But Hīnśā kumburē takes *vāto atthīti* as dependent on *anāmu* and renders these three words by it (the wind) has entered into my heart and then adds by way of gloss and has struck against my body and travels through the sky In another passage below IV 8 65 (p 317 of the Pāli) this same word *anupavīṭṭham* recurs in a clause the sense of which is doubtful, and there Hīnśā kumburē explains it quite differently It looks very much as if we had here an idiom peculiar to our author but one cannot of course be sure on any such point till the Pāṭhas are all published

<sup>2</sup> The same simile is used below, p 317 (of the Pāli)

and seasons. Of Nirvâṇa O king it cannot be said that it is Karma born or cause born or season born that it has been or has not been or can be produced that it is past or future or present that it is perceptible by the eye or the nose or the ear or the tongue or by the sense of touch. But it is perceptible O king by the mind. By means of his pure heart refined and straight free from the obstacles free from low cravings that disciple of the Noble Ones who has fully attained can see Nirvâṇa.

Well has this delightful puzzle venerable Nâgaseṇa been examined into cleared of doubt brought into certitude. My perplexity has been put an end to as soon as I consulted you O best of the best of the leaders of schools!

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[Here ends the dilemma as to modes of production]

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[DILEMMA THE SIXTY SEVENTH  
DEAD DEMONS]

19 'Venerable Nagasena are there such things as demons (Yakkhâ) in the world?

Yes, O king

'Do they ever leave that condition (fall out of that phase of existence)?

Yes they do'

But if so, why is it that the remains of those dead Yakkhas are never found, nor any odour of their corpses smelt?

'[272] Their remains are found, O king and an odour does arise from their dead bodies. The remains of bad Yakkhas can be seen in the form of

worms and beetles and ants and moths and snakes and scorpions and centipedes and birds and wild beasts

Who else O Nāgasena could have solved this puzzle except one as wise as you !

[Here ends the dilemma as to dead demons]

[DHEMMA THE SIXTY EIGHTH

THE METHOD OF PROMULGATING THE RULES]

20 Venerable Nāgasena those who were teachers of the doctors in times gone by—Nārada<sup>1</sup> and Dhammantari<sup>2</sup> and Angirasa<sup>3</sup> and Kapila<sup>4</sup> and Kandaraggisama and Atula and Pubba Kakkayana<sup>5</sup>—all these teachers knowing thoroughly and of themselves and without any omission the rise of disease and its cause and nature and progress and cure and treatment and management<sup>6</sup>—each of them composed his treatise en bloc taking time by the forelock and pointing out that in such and such a body such and such a disease would arise Now no one of these

<sup>1</sup> No doubt the celebrated Devārshi is meant though it is odd to find him in a list of physicians

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit Dhanvantari the physician of the gods He is mentioned in the Gataka IV 496 with Bhoga and Vetrana as a well known physician of old famous for the cure of snake bite

<sup>3</sup> The connection of Angirasa with the physicians is due to the charms against disease to be found in the Atharva veda

<sup>4</sup> Kapila is known in the Brhman literature as a teacher of philosophy rather than of medicine

<sup>5</sup> Probably the Eastern Kakkayana but nothing is known of these last three names Himāṇḍakumbure calls all seven Rishis

<sup>6</sup> Siddhāsaddham for which Himāṇḍakumbure (p 385) who merely repeats all the other terms has sadhyāsadhya.

was omniscient. Why then did not the Tathagata who was omniscient and who knew by his insight of a Buddha what would happen in the future determining in advance that for such and such an occasion such and such a rule would be required lay down the whole code of rules at once, instead of laying them down to his disciples from time to time as each occasion arose, when the disgrace (of the wrong act) had been already noised abroad when the evil was already wide spread and grown great when the people were already filled with indignation<sup>1</sup>?

21 The Tathagata O king knew very well that in fulness of time the whole of the hundred and fifty Rules<sup>2</sup> would have to be laid down to those men. But the Tathâgata, O king, thought thus 'If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty Rules at once the people would be filled with fear [273] those of them who were willing to enter the Order would refrain from doing so saying 'How much is there here to be observed! how difficult a thing is it to enter religion according to the system of the Samana Gotama—they would not trust my words and through their want of faith they would be liable to rebirth in states of woe. As occasion arises therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, will I lay down when the evil has become manifest each Rule.

A wonderful thing is it in the Buddhas Nâgasena, and a most marvellous that the omniscience of the Tathâgata should be so great. That is just so

<sup>1</sup> This question has already been discussed above III 6 2 (I 116)

<sup>2</sup> The rules of the Pâtimokkha are 227 in number, but without the Sekhiyas they are 152



venerable Nagasena This matter was well understood by the Tathâgata—how that hearing that so much was to be observed, men<sup>1</sup> would have been so filled with fear that not a single one would have entered religion according to the system of the Conquerors. That is so and I accept it as you say<sup>2</sup>

[Here ends the dilemma as to the method in which the Rules were laid down]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY NINTH  
THE HEAT OF THE SUN]

22 'Venerable Nâgasena does this sun always burn fiercely or are there times when it shines with diminished heat?

It always burns fiercely O king never gently'

'But if that be so how is it that the heat of the sun is sometimes fierce and sometimes not<sup>3</sup>?'

23 'There are four derangements<sup>4</sup> O king which happen to the sun and affected by one or other of these its heat is allayed. And what are the four? The clouds O king, and fog<sup>5</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> Sattâ literally beings but that means human beings men and women as no others (gods Nagas animals &c) were admitted to the Order. See Mahāvagga I 63 I 76 I Kulla vagga X 17 1

<sup>2</sup> In the Introductory Stories to the Rules it is often stated how, when a Bhikkhu had done some act the people were indignant the brethren heard that and reported the matter to the Blessed One who then, and then only laid down the Rule prohibiting that act. But these Introductory Stories are really later than the Rules

<sup>3</sup> He e Hīnañ kumbure (pp 386-7) goes into great details giving instances, and quoting verses

<sup>4</sup> Rogā literally diseases.

<sup>5</sup> Mahikā Childers gave frost as the only meaning of this word

smoke<sup>1</sup> and eclipses —these are the four derangements which happen to the sun, and it is when affected by one or other of these that its heat is allayed<sup>2</sup>

Most wonderful Nâgasena and most strange [274] that even the sun so transcendent in glory should suffer from derangement—how much more then other lesser creatures No one else could have made this explanation except one wise like you<sup>3</sup>

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the heat  
of the sun]

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[DILEMMA THE SEVENTIETH  
THE SEASONS]

24 Venerable Nagasena why is it that the heat of the sun is more fierce in winter than in summer?

In the hot season O king dust is blown up into clouds and pollen<sup>4</sup> agitated by the winds rises up into the sky and clouds multiply in the heavens and gales blow with exceeding force All these crowded and heaped together shut off the rays of the sun and so in the hot season the heat of the sun is diminished But in the cold season O king the earth below is at rest the rains above are

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<sup>1</sup> Megho literally rain cloud But clouds of smoke are meant as is clear from the parallel passage loc. cit which has dhuma rago but see *Kullavagga* XII 1 3 (from which the whole section IV 7 23 is derived)

Râhu

<sup>2</sup> Anupahatam Compare Dr Morris's note in the *Journal of the Pâli Text Society* 1884 p 75 on Therâ Gâthâ 625

<sup>3</sup> Renû Perhaps this should again be rendered dust See the verse at *Gataka* I, 117 (which is nearly the same as *Divyavadâna* p 491)

in reserve<sup>1</sup> the dust is quiet the pollen wanders gently through the air the sky is free from clouds and very gently do the breezes blow Since all these have ceased to act the rays of the sun become clear and freed from every obstruction the suns heat glows and burns This O king is the reason why the heat of the sun is more fierce in winter than in summer

So it is when set free from the obstacles besetting it that the sun burns fiercely which it cannot do when the rains and so on are present with it'

[ Very good Nagasena ' That is so, and I accept it as you say ' ]

[Here ends the dilemma of the seasons ]

### Here ends the Seventh Chapter<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mahâ megho upa<sup>1</sup>hito hoti which is very ambiguous The Sinhalese (p 389) has maha meghava patan ganna lada wanneja

<sup>2</sup> Inserted from Hinasi kumburê

<sup>3</sup> There is great uncertainty at present as to the views held first in the Pîakas and later in the Commentaries regarding the calculation of time and the division of years into month and seasons Our author here seems to regard the year as divided into two seasons only Hemanta and Gimha But Hemanta is usually supposed to last only from the 1st November (that is the middle of Kattika) to the beginning of March (that is the middle of Phagguni) Gimhana for the next four months (March 1st-June 30th) and Vassâna the remaining four (July-October)—the year being thus divided into three equal cold hot and rainy seasons. At Mahavagga VIII 24 3 there is a division of the year into unequal dry and wet seasons (utu and vasanta) and at Gâtaka I 86 it is said that vasanta samayo begins when hemanta ends at the full moon of Phagguni As our author places the characteristic events of the rainy season in the hot season he cannot have had the division into three seasons in his mind

<sup>4</sup> Of the excellent Saddhammâdâsa says the Sinhalese

## BOOK IV CHAPTER 8

[DILEMA THE SEVENTY-FIRST]

'Vessantara AS LIVING'<sup>1</sup>

I Venerable Nagasena do all the Bodisats give away their wives and children or was it only Vessantara the king who did so?

All of them do so not Vessantara only

[275] 'Do they then give them away with their own consent?

The wife of the king was a consenting party. But the children by reason of their tender age lamented. Had they thoroughly understood they too would have approved.

A hard thing Nagasena was it that the Bodisat carried out in that he gave away his own children his only ones, dearly beloved into slavery to the Brahman. And this second action was harder still that he bound his own children his only ones and dearly beloved, young and tender though they were with the jungle rope and then when he saw them being dragged along<sup>2</sup> by the Brahman—their hands

<sup>1</sup> We have seen above IV 1 41 (I 178) how Hinaññumbure expanded the story of Vessantara which had aroused also in our author a greater enthusiasm than any of the many other subjects that he treats. Here too the Sinhalese translator faithfully runs over the mighty giving of the glorious king and expands it in pages of the Pali into thirty three pages of his version (pp 309-41) whereas usually one page of the Sinhalese covers very nearly a page of the Pali.

Annotation by the Rev. Mr. Francis ...

bruised by the creeper—yet could look on at the sight. And this third action was even harder still that when his boy ran back to him after loosing the bonds by his own exertion then he bound him again with t' e jungle rope and again gave him away. And this fourth action was even harder still, that when the children weeping cried 'Father dear this ogre is leading us away to eat us!' he should have appeased them by saying 'Don't be afraid.' And this fifth action was even harder still, that when the prince Gāli fell weeping at his feet and besought him saying 'Be satisfied father dear only keep Kanthag nā (his little sister) I will go away with the ogre. Let him eat me!—that even then he would not yield. And this sixth action was even harder still that when the boy Gāli lamenting exclaimed 'Have you a heart of stone then father that you can look upon us miserable being led away by the ogre into the dense and haunted jungle and not call us back?'—that he still had no pity. And this seventh action was even harder still that when his children were thus led away to nameless horrors until they passed gradually to their bitter fate<sup>1</sup> out of sight—that then his heart did not break utterly break! What pray has the man who seeks to gain merit to do with bringing sorrow on others! Should he not rather give himself away?

2 'It is because what he did, O king was so

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Sinhalese (p. 390) has at mardanaya koṭa welannavun dola.

<sup>1</sup> Rūṭarūṭassa bhīmabhimassa. The Sinhalese (p. 390) omits these words giving other detail in place of them and as they occur only here I am not sure of their meaning.

difficult that the sound of the fame of the Bodisat was spread abroad among gods and men through the ten thousand world systems—[276] that the gods exalt him in heaven and the Titans in the Titan world and the Garuḍas in their abodes and the Nagas in the Naga world and the Yakshas where they dwell—that through the ages the reputation of this his glory has been handed down by successive tradition—all now to day it has reached to this meeting of ours at which we sitting are forsooth disparaging and casting a slur on that gift<sup>1</sup> debating whether it were well given or ill<sup>1</sup> But that high praise O king shows forth the ten great qualities of the intelligent and wise and able and subtle minded Bodisats And what are the ten? Freedom from greed the not clinging (to any worldly aim) self sacrifice renunciation the never turning back again (to the lower state) the equal delicacy and greatness the incomprehensibility the rarity and the peerlessness of Buddhahood In all these respects is it that the fame of that giving shows forth the great qualities of the Bodisats

3 What venerable Nāgasena? he who gives gifts in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others—does that giving of his bring forth fruit in happiness does it lead to rebirth in states of bliss?

Yes O king What can be said (to the contrary)?

I pray you Nāgasena give me a reason for this

Suppose O king there were some virtuous Samana or Brahman of high character and he were

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<sup>1</sup> Vikittenta vikopenta Hīnaṁ kumburê (p 410) has angrily finding fault with. Compare above vikopana at p 266 (of the Pāli)

paralysed or a cripple<sup>1</sup> or suffering from some disease or other, and some man desirous of merit were to have him put into a carriage and taken to the place he wished to go to. Would happiness accrue to that man by reason thereof would that be an act leading to rebirth in states of bliss?

Yes Sir. What can be said (to the contrary)? That man would thereby acquire a trained elephant or a riding horse or a bullock-carriage on land a land vehicle and on water a water vehicle in heaven a vehicle of the gods<sup>2</sup> and on earth one that men could use—from birth to birth there would accrue to him that which in each would be appropriate and fit—and joys appropriate would come to him and he would pass from state to state of bliss and by the efficacy of that act mounting on the vehicle of Iddhi he would arrive at the longed for goal the city of Nirvāṇa itself.

But then O king a gift given in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others does bring forth fruit in happiness does lead to rebirth in states of bliss [277],—inasmuch as that man by putting the cart bullocks to pain would attain such bliss.

4 And hear another reason O king for the same thing. Suppose some monarch were to raise from his subjects a righteous tax and then by the issue of a command were to bestow thereout a gift would that monarch O king enjoy any happiness on that account would that be a gift leading to rebirth in states of bliss?

<sup>1</sup> Pakkha hato va piḥḥi sappi vā. See the note above on IV 6 22.

<sup>2</sup> Devayāna on which compare Sutta Nipata ver e 139 (vā aia Sutta 24).

Certainly Sir What can be said against it? On that account the monarch would receive a hundred thousandfold he might become a king of kings a god above the gods or Brahmâ lord of the Brahma gods or a chief among the Samanas or a leader of the Brahmins or the most excellent among the Arhats

Then O king a gift given in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others does bring forth fruit in happiness does lead to rebirth in states of bliss—inasmuch as that monarch by giving as a gift what was gained by harassing his people with taxation would enjoy such exceeding fame and glory

5 'But, venerable Nagasena what was given by Vessantara the king was an excessive gift in that he gave his own wife as wife to another man and his own children his only ones into slavery to a Brahman And excessive giving is by the wise in the world held worthy of censure and of blame Just Nagasena is under too much weight the axle-tree of a cart would break or a ship would sink as his food would disagree with him who ate too much or the crops would be ruined by too heavy rain, or bankruptcy would follow too lavish generosity or fever would come from too much heat, or a man would go mad from excessive lust, or become guilty of an offence through excessive anger or fall into sin through excessive stupidity, or into the power of robbers through too much avarice or be ruined by needless fear or as a river would overflow through excessive inflow or a thunderbolt fall through too much wind or porridge boil over through too hot a fire or a man who wandered



about too much<sup>1</sup> would not live long—just so  
Nagasena is excessive giving held by the wise in  
the world as worthy of censure and of blame. And  
as king Vessantara's gift was excessive [278] no  
good result could be expected from it.

6 Giving exceedingly. O king is praised  
and applauded and approved by the wise in the world,  
and they who give away, giving as a gift just as it  
may occur to them acquire fame in the world as  
very generous givers. Just O king, as when a man  
has taken hold of a wild root which by its extra-  
ordinary virtues is divine that moment he becomes  
invincible even to those standing within arms  
length—is as a medicinal herb by the exceeding  
power of its nature will utterly kill pain and put an  
end to disease—just as fire burns by its exceeding  
heat and water puts things out by its exceeding  
cold—just as by its exceeding purity a lotus remains  
undefiled by water or by mud—just as a (marc)  
pearl by the extraordinary virtue in her it pro-  
cures the granting of every wish—just as lightning  
by its marvelous quick sharpness cleaves asunder  
even the diamonds, pearls and crystals—just as the  
earth by its exceeding size can support men and  
snakes and wild beasts and birds and the waters

<sup>1</sup> *Ati saṅkareṇa* which the Sinhalese do not expect. The  
meaning is doubtful. The use of *atī* at the end of the line has  
suggested the above rendering.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of this insertion turns on the ambiguity of *neti* *pi* *atī*  
at which many can either 'very much' or 'too much'.

<sup>3</sup> *Yadisaṃ* *kidisaṃ*. The meaning of this idiom can not be  
controlled by parallel passages as I know of none. *Diraṇi* *kura*  
*bire* (pp 412-413) construes *yadisaṃ* as an accusative dependent  
on *atidanaḍḍāvi*. Those who give away anything as a gift ac-  
quire fame in the world as exceeding givers of that.

and rocks and hills and trees—just as the ocean by its exceeding greatness can never be quite filled—just as Sineru by its mighty weight remains immovable and space by the greatness of its wide extent is infinite and the sun by its mighty glory dissipates the darkness—just as the lion in the greatness of its lineage is free from fear—just as a wrestler in the greatness of his might easily lifts up his foe—just as a king by the excellence of his justice becomes overlord and a Bhikkhu by reason of his very righteousness becomes an object of reverence to Nāgas and Yakshas and men and Maras—just as a Buddha by the excellence of his supremacy is peerless—just so O king is exceeding generosity praised applauded and approved by the wise in the world and they who give away anything as a gift, just as it may occur to them acquire in the world the fame of being nobly generous. And by his mighty giving Vessantara the king O king was praised and lauded and exalted and magnified and famous throughout the ten thousand world systems and by reason too of that mighty giving is it that he the king Vessantara has now in our days become the Buddha the chief of gods and men.

7 And now O king tell me—is there anything in the world which should be withheld as a gift, and not bestowed when one worthy of a gift one to whom it is one's duty to give<sup>1</sup> is there?

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<sup>1</sup> *Dakkhineyya*. We have no word in English to express the full meaning of this word. It is an idea that was common ground to our Buddhist apologist and to the Brahman opponents whom he always has in view that there were certain people to whom gifts ought to be given and the being worthy was one of the conditions precedent to belonging to this class. Of course the

There are ten sorts of gifts Nāgasena in the world that are commonly disapproved of as gifts And what are the ten? Strong drink Nāgasena and festivals in high places<sup>1</sup> and women and buffaloes and suggestive [279] paintings and weapons and poison and chains and fowls and swine and false weights and measures All these Nāgasena are disapproved of in the world as gifts and those who give such presents become liable to rebirth in states of woe

I did not ask you O king what kinds of gifts are not approved of But this O king I asked

Is there anything in the world which ought to be withheld, and not bestowed as a gift if one worthy of a gift were present?

No Sir When faith arises in their hearts some give food to those worthy of gifts and some give clothes and some give bedding and some give dwellings and some give mats or robes, and some give slave girls or slaves and some give fields or premises and some give bipeds or quadrupeds and

Brahmans held that to be a Brahman was another condition but the Buddhist who inherited the idea from them had discarded this part of the conception See for the Brahman view Eggeling's *Satapatha Brahmana* II 114 344

<sup>1</sup> *Samagga dānam* Childers under *samaggā* gives only the meaning as empty but it is clear from *Aul'avagga* V 6 VI 2 7 the *Sutta Vibhanga* II 26, and *Sumangala* I 84 that the word at least as a masculine (which it is here) has the technical sense of one of those orgies in high places which were common in so many parts of the world in very early times and were due in India to Kolarian influences The giving (*dāna*) of such a *samagga* would doubtless mean the providing of the necessary food seats cushions &c

<sup>2</sup> *Kitta kammatam* See my note on *Paṭibhanna Kittaṃ* at *Vinaya Texts* III 172

some give a hundred<sup>1</sup> or a thousand or a hundred thousand and some give the kingdom itself and some give away even their own life

But then O king if some give away even their own lives why do you so violently attack Vessantara that king of givers for the virtuous bestowal of his child and wife ? Is there not a general practice in the world an acknowledged custom according to which it is allowable for a father who has fallen into debt or lost his livelihood to deposit his son in pledge or sell him ?

Yes that is so

‘ Well, in accordance therewith was it that Vessantara O king in suffering and distress at not having obtained the insight of the Omniscient Ones pledged and sold his wife and children for that spiritual treasure So that he gave away what other people had given away he did what other people had done Why then do you O king so violently attack him the king of givers ?

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. pieces of money, which it would be against the rules for a member of the Buddhist Order to accept But the donees in all the cases are not necessarily Buddhists

Paripâtesī not in Childers but see *Gāthaka* II 208 and below p 367 (of the Pāli text) *Hinaśi kumbure ha here ninaṇṇa karanne* and just below *apasadanaya karanne*

<sup>2</sup> *Avapitum* not in Childers Dr Morris in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* for 1886 p 157 compares the Sanskrit root *vyap* but this does not help us much *Hinaśi kumburē* (p 414) has an *ānēka cēpaye hinduwannaṇa* which means I think to deposit as a pledge in some place or other At all events *cēpa*, the ordinary word now in use in Ceylon courts for bail may very well be actually derived from *vāpa* And the passage at *Gāthaka* I 321 is an exact parallel to our phrase here for there the Bodhisat when an elephant gives away his teeth and tusks as *vāpana* for the insight of the Omniscient Ones

8 Venerable Nāgasena I don't blame him for giving but for not having made a barter<sup>1</sup> with the beggar and given away himself rather instead of his wife and children

[280] That O king would be an act of a wrong doer to give himself when he was asked for his wife and children For the thing asked for whatever it is is that which ought to be given And such is the practice of the good Suppose O king a man were to ask that water should be brought would any one who then brought him food have done what he wanted?

No Sir The man who should have given what he first asked to be brought would have done what he wanted

Just so O king when the Brahman asked Vessantara the king for his wife and children it was his wife and children that he gave If the Brahman O king had asked for Vessantara's body then would Vessantara have not saved his body he would neither have trembled nor been stained (by the love of self), but would have given away and abandoned his own body If O king any one had come up to Vessantara the king and asked of him saying

Become my slave then would he have given away and abandoned his own self and in so giving would he have felt no pain

9 'Now the life of king Vessantara O king was a good thing shared in by many—just as meats when cooked are shared in by many or as a tree covered with fruit is shared in by many flocks of

<sup>1</sup> Nīminivā also not in Chalda's but see *Gataka* III 63

birds And why so? Because he had said to himself Thus acting may I attain to Buddhahood As a man in need O king who is wandering about in his search after wealth will have to pass along goat tracks and through jungles full of stakes and sticks<sup>1</sup>, and doing merchandise by sea and land will devote his actions words and thoughts to the attainment of wealth—just so O king did Vessantara, the king of givers who was longing for the treasure of Buddhahood for the attainment of the insight of the Omniscient Ones by offering up to any one who begged of him his property and his corn his slave girls and his slaves his riding animals and carriages all that he possessed his wife and children and himself seek after the Supreme Enlightenment Just O king as an official who is anxious for the seal, and for the office of the custody thereof [281] will exert himself to the attainment of the seal by sacrificing everything in his house—property and coin gold and silver everything—just so O king did Vessantara the king of givers by giving away all that he had, inside his house and out<sup>2</sup> by giving even his life for others seek after the Supreme Enlightenment

10 And further O king Vessantara the king of givers thought thus It is by giving to him precisely what he asks for that I shall be of service

<sup>1</sup> *Aṇapatham sankupītham vettapatham gakkhatī* Hīnāṇakumbhū p 416 repeats the words with a gloss on the two last words which I have followed

<sup>2</sup> *Mudda kāmō mudra nam ganam perekkuwa* says Hīnāṇakumbhū p 416

<sup>3</sup> *Bahirabbhan aṇam dhanam datvā* I am not sure that I have rightly understood this phrase which the Sinhalese merely repeats

to the Brahman ' and therefore did he bestow upon him his wife and children. It was not O king out of dislike to them that he gave them away, not because he did not care to see them more, not because he considered them an encumbrance or thought he could no longer support them, not (in annoyance) with the wish of being relieved of what was not pleasant to him—but because the jewel treasure of omniscience was dear to him for the sake of the insight of the Omniscient Ones did he bestow that glorious gift—immeasurable magnificent unsurpassed—of what was rear and dear to him, greatly beloved, cherished as his own life, his own children and his wife! For it has been said O king by the Blessed One, the god of gods in the *Kārya Pitaka* <sup>1</sup>

Tw'as not through hatred of my children sweet  
Tw'as not through hatred of my queen Maddi  
Thraller of hearts <sup>2</sup>—not that I loved them less—  
But Buddhahood more that I renounced them all

<sup>1</sup> *Kārya Pitaka* I 9 23

<sup>2</sup> Dassa that is dreshva from dvish. Compare diso an enemy. It occurs also at *Kārya Pitaka* I 4 7 5 3 8 16 (quoted *Gātaka* IV 406) II 4 11 III 1 6 (quoted *Gātaka* I 46) III 2 16 3 10 6 18. The effect of the use of this rare poetical word is lost in the English version.

<sup>3</sup> Maddi and Kāṇhaṇṇī the names of Vessantara's wife and daughter, mean respectively enthraller (of men's minds) and the dark conquerors (of hearts). As Vessantara is used in the *Magghima* (I 386 line 5) as an adjective, not a name, and is applied to the Buddha, it too must have a special meaning. But it can scarcely be connected with Vaisya while we have a very famous epithet in *vaiṣṇavara* so often applied to the sacred fire as common good to all men. The insertion of the t would explain the shortening of the ā and though there seems to be no sufficient reason for any alteration at all of the older term, this is

11 Now at that time, O king Vessantara when he had given away his wife and children entered the leaf hut and sat down there. And heavy grief fell upon him distressed by his exceeding love for them and his very heart became hot and hot breath, too much to find its way through the nose came and went through his mouth and tears rolled in drops of blood from his eyes. Such was the grief O king with which Vessantara gave to the Brahman his wife and children in the thought that his practice of giving should not be broken in upon. But there were two reasons O king why he thus gave them away. What are those two? That his practice of giving should not be interrupted was one, the other was that as a result of his so doing his children distressed by living with him only on wild roots and fruits should eventually be set free by their new master [282] For Vessantara knew O king "No one is capable of keeping my children as slaves. Their grandfather will ransom the children and so they will come back to me. These are the two reasons why he gave his children away to the Brahman."

12 And further O king Vessantara knew 'This Brahman is worn out aged well stricken in years weak and broken leaning on a stick, he has drawn near the end of his days his merit is small he will not be capable of keeping my children as

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probably the real derivation of Vessantara. And the whole legend may well be due to previous stories of the world wide beneficence of Agni Vaisvânara or of the sun as Vaisvanara.

Hadayaṁ atthu like a broth pot foaming over is Hīnaṁ kunbarē's explanation of this phrase (pema negena mas soeliyak men hr̥daya wastuwa p 417)



slaves      Would a man be able O king, by his ordinary power to seize the moon and the sun<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Kandima suriye* We should say the sun and the moon and I can not think the difference of phraseology is entirely without significance. While the Brahmans put their own case and order first the Buddhist texts talk of Samaras and Brahmans Khatiyas and Brahmanas. This has and no doubt rightly been held significant of the opinion of the authors. Why should the fact of their always referring in similar compounds to the moon before the sun and to women before men be less so? Now it is almost always taken for granted that the Buddhists were reformers as opposed to the Brahmans who wanted to run still in the ancient grooves. But there is another side of the question that has been entirely overlooked. There is ample evidence in their literature that (at least in certain directions more especially of religious thought) the Brahmans had been constantly progressive and their Brahmanas are really the result of reform following on reform. To use a parallel drawn from modern politics Buddhists are to Brahmans much more like Socialists to Liberals than like Liberals to Conservatives. The Brahmans had worked out in their minds no new complete system and when they reformed they left the roots of the old order of things in the ground. But in the momentous change from matriarchate to patriarchate they threw all their power and influence on the side of the new conception. And when like Kronos to Jupiter the old gods gave place to the new it was they who worked out the newer set of ideas—more especially heaven or sun worship as against moon worship and all that it involved. We must not forget that a change of dynasty or of precedence among the gods was of more importance to men in those times than a change of dynasty among earthly kings. And though the Buddhists it is true as we ourselves now cared for none of these things and were busied with other discussions than the precedence of the sun and moon they quite quietly and naturally when they had to choose adopted the form of words which did not imply an acceptance of the Brahman position whose system in other matters they were trying if not to scorn at least to turn.

We are here in the midst of questions too vast to be discussed with profit and note. But Buddhism certainly arose among the section of the community less influenced by the reforms the Brahmans supported. And the evidence, in the preface to the

mighty and powerful as they are keeping them in a basket or a box to use them deprived of their light as plates?

Certainly not Sir

Neither O king could any one whatever keep in use as his slaves the children of Vessatara, who were to the world like the moon and the sun in glory

13 And hear another reason O king for the same thing<sup>1</sup> That wondrous gem O king of a sovran overlord bright and beautiful with its eight facets so well cut, four cubits in thickness and in circumference<sup>2</sup> as the nave of a cart wheel could no man wrapping it up in a cloth and putting it into a basket keep and use as a hone to grind his scissors<sup>3</sup> upon And neither O king could any one soever keep in use as his slaves the children of Vessantara like to the jewels of the lord of the world in glory

14 And hear O king another reason Just as the elephant king Uposatha<sup>4</sup> gentle and handsome eight cubits in height and nine in girth and length showing the signs of rut in three places on his body all white sevenfold firm<sup>5</sup> could never by any one

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Buddhists gave to women and to the moon that the older ideas had not even then died out

<sup>1</sup> These words are repeated before each of the following similes

Parinaha which Childers is wrong in rendering breadth when not qualified by ayama (wafa cettawû says the Sinhalese p 418)

<sup>2</sup> Nisâna, karagal says Hinañ kumburê

<sup>3</sup> Satthaka, see Kullavagga V 11 1

<sup>4</sup> The mythic fairy elephant of the Akkavatti (not a snake king as Prof E. Müller has it Journal of the Pâli Text Society 1888 p 16) See my note at Buddhist Suttas p 254

<sup>5</sup> Sattappatti/hito The Sinhalese merely repeats this ambiguous word (compare IV 8 57)

be covered up with a saucer<sup>1</sup> or a winnowing fan<sup>1</sup> could never be put into a cowpen like a calf or made use of as one [283] just so could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves the children of Vessantara who were, in the world, like Uposatha the elephant king

15 And hear O king another reason Just O king as the mighty ocean is great in length and breadth and deep, not to be measured and hard to cross, impossible to fathom or to cover up and no one could close it in and make use of it as a single ferry just so could no one whatever keep in use as his slaves the children of Vessantara as esteemed in the world as the mighty ocean

16 'And hear another reason, O king Just as the Himâlaya, the king of the mountains, five leagues high and three thousand leagues in extent at the circumference with its ranges of eight and forty thousand peaks, the source of five hundred rivers the dwelling place of multitudes of mighty creatures<sup>2</sup>, the producer of manifold perfumes enriched with hundreds of magical drugs is seen to rise aloft, like a cloud in the centre (of the earth) like it O king could no one whatever keep in use as his slaves the children of Vessantara as esteemed in the world as Himâlaya, the mountain king

'And hear another reason O king Just as a

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<sup>1</sup> Suppena vâ saravena vâ. Hînañ kumburê renders the first of these words by kullaka which is a winnowing basket, and the second by malâwaka which I do not understand. But the use of sarâva at Gâtaka I, 8 14 and Sumangala I 298 seems to me to confirm Childers's rendering

<sup>2</sup> Mahabhûta Yakshas says Hînañ-kumburê, p 419 Compare above p 250 (of the Pali)

mighty bonfire burning on a mountain top would be visible afar off in the darkness and the gloom of night, so was Vessantara the king well known among men and therefore could no one whatever keep in use as his slaves, the children of so distinguished a man—for just as at the time of the flowering of the Naga trees<sup>1</sup> in the Himalaya mountains, when the soft winds (of spring)<sup>2</sup> are blowing the perfume of the flowers is wafted for ten leagues or for twelve [284] so was the sound of the fame of king Vessantara noised abroad, and the sweet perfume of his righteousness wafted along for thousands of leagues even up to the abodes of the Akanittha (the highest of all) gods passing on its way the dwelling places of the gods and Asuras of the Garuḍas and Gandhabbas of the Yakshas and Rākshasas of the Mahoragas and Kinnaras and of Indra the monarch of the gods<sup>3</sup>! Therefore is it that no one could keep his children as slaves

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<sup>1</sup> Nāga puppha samaye Hīnaśī kumburē says at the time when the Nā trees bloom The Nā or Nāga is the *Mesua ferea* whose lovely flowers, like those of the Champak are still in special request for laying before the images of the Buddha in Buddhist temples I am told that these so called flowers are not flowers at all, botanically speaking, but young shoots But it is one of the most beautiful sights in a Ceylon landscape to see this splendid forest tree, lofty and wide spreading as it is, one mass of what look like red blossoms from crown to root For at the 'bloom time' it casts all its green leaves and has the appearance of a scarlet bell No wonder that this was thought supernatural and that the tree should be called the Nāga tree Its timber is so valuable that in Anglo-Indian the tree is called the 'Iron wood' tree But it may be regretted that the commercial spirit of the European has substituted this hard name for the Fairy tree of the native languages.

<sup>2</sup> Ugu vāta which the Sinhalese repeats

<sup>3</sup> Compare vol 1, pp 38 175

17 And the young prince Gâli O king was instructed by his father Vessantara in these words ' When your grandfather my child shall ransom you with wealth that he gives to the Brahman let him buy you back for a thousand ounces of gold<sup>1</sup> and when he ransoms your sister Kanhâgîna let him buy her back for a hundred slaves and a hundred slave girls and a hundred elephants and a hundred horses and a hundred cows and a hundred buffaloes and a hundred ounces of gold And if my child, your grandfather should take you out of the hands of the Brahman by word of command or by force paying nothing then obey not the words of your grandfather but remain still in subjection<sup>2</sup> to the Brahman Such was his instruction as he sent him away And young Gâli went accordingly, and when asked by his grandfather said

As worth a thousand ounces Sir,  
My father gave me to this man  
As worth a hundred elephants  
He gave the girl Kanhâgînâ ''

Well has this puzzle Nâgasena been unravelled well has the net of heresy been torn to pieces well has the argument of the adversaries been overcome and your own doctrine been made evident, well has the letter (of the Scriptures) been maintained while

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<sup>1</sup> Nikkha sahasaṃ. See my 'Ancient Coins and Measures, pp 6, 14 Samyutta Nikāya II 3 9 9 (Gâtaka I, 375, IV 97, Anguttara III 73 3).

<sup>2</sup> Anuyâyino Not found elsewhere and not in Childers But anuyâyatī occurs below (p 391 of the text) and an ānu yâyin at Sutta Nipāta V 7 3 4 and Tala-kāṭha gāthā 25 (compare 41) Hīnaṣi kumburē (p 420) has anuwa hoesirew

you have thus explained its spirit<sup>1</sup> That is so and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the dilemma as to Vessantara's gift of his wife and children]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY SECOND  
PENANCE]

18 Venerable Nāgasena did all the Bodisats go through a period of penance, or only Gotama?<sup>2</sup>

Not all, O king but Gotama did

Venerable Nāgasena if that be so it is not right that there should be a difference between Bodisat and Bodisat

[285] 'There are four matters, O king in which there is such difference And what are the four? There is a difference as to the kind of family (in which they are born<sup>1</sup>) there is a difference as to their place in the period (which has elapsed since the succession of Buddhas began<sup>2</sup>) there

<sup>1</sup> Kula vemattatā Those Bodisats who are to become Buddhas in their then lives may be born either in a Brahman or in a Kshatriya family but in no other

<sup>2</sup> Addhāna vemattatā which is ambiguous as period difference may mean different things according to the interpretation given to period. Now the Bodisat theory has never been thoroughly worked out in detail It is clear from the statements given in pp 38-58 of my Buddhist Birth Stories that the Bodisat who became Gotama the Buddha was held to have been in existence throughout the whole period in which the former twenty four Buddhas appeared and this is probably the period intended Hīnañ kumburē's version (p 421) is as ambiguous as the Pali Spence Hardy gives at p 87 of his 'Manual of Buddhism' what purports to be a translation of our passage But it is only a loose paraphrase, and he interprets this 'period-difference' as simply

is a difference as to the length of their individual lives<sup>1</sup>, there is a difference as to their individual size<sup>2</sup>. In these four respects O king there is a difference between Bodisat and Bodisat. But there is no difference between any of the Buddhas, who are alike in bodily beauty<sup>3</sup> in goodness of character in power of contemplation and of reasoning, in emancipation in the insight arising from the knowledge of emancipation in

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identical with the next one in the list the length of life difference—which must be wrong

It must be remembered that the Bodisats referred to throughout this dilemma are exclusively men—not those mentioned in the *Gâtakas* (who are all Bodisats of the historical Buddha) but only those Bodisats who became Buddhas in the same life—that is the Buddhas themselves before they reached Buddhahood

<sup>1</sup> *Âyu vemattatâ*. This may be due to either of two causes—in the first place they may be born as creatures whose allotted period of life varies. Thus the Bodisat was twenty times Sakka the king of the gods and his life would then have lasted hundreds of thousands of years. But he was 106 times an animal of some kind and then his life would have been of course much shorter. Again in his births as a man (more than 350 times see the table in my *Buddhist Birth Stories* p. ci), the average duration of men's lives will have varied, according to Buddhist theory from many centuries down to only a few years. It is in this second sense only that (with *Hînañ kumburê*) we must suppose the phrase *âyu vemattata* to be used—thus excluding all the Bodisats except such as were men. But in the *Gâtaka* stories the average age of man is (with one or two exceptions) normal

<sup>2</sup> *Pamâna vemattatâ* which we must also understand to refer only to the varying average size of mankind, which according to Buddhist theory, is very great at the commencement and very small at the close of a *Kalpa*. For it is only the men Bodisats, and only in each series the last man Bodisat (just before he became Buddha), concerning whom this question of penance could arise.

<sup>3</sup> *Rûpe*, which the *Sinhalese* repeats (p. 422) and which cannot here mean bodily form only

the four bases of confidence<sup>1</sup>, in the ten powers of a Tathâgata<sup>2</sup> in the sixfold special know-

<sup>1</sup> *Katu vesâragge*. They are the confidence that no one—Samana or Brahman, God or Mâra—can reprove him by saying (1) The qualities which you maintain to be those of a Buddha have not been attained by you or (2) The Great Evils which you maintain to have ceased in an Arahât have not ceased in you or (3) The qualities which you say are dangerous (in the higher life) are not really dangerous to one who practises them or (4) 'The aim which you held before others in preaching your Dhamma will not lead him who follows it to the destruction of sorrow. The list will be found in the Anguttara Nikâya IV 8 (where it is probably a quotation from one of the conversational Suttas). But the punctuation in Dr Morris's edition should be corrected by putting full stops after each *viharâmi*. Childers gives a different explanation under *vesâragga* but his interpretation must be altered to that here given which is the only correct one.

<sup>2</sup> These have not been found in any Pâli text but Burnouf gives them in a note to the Lotus de la Bonne Loi (p 781) from the *Ginâlanakâra*. He says the expression *dasabalo* is found as applied to the Buddha 'à chaque instant dans les textes' but this is not the case so far at least as the older texts are concerned. In one of the old verses preserved at the Mahâvagga I 22 13, and quoted in the *Gâtaka* (vol. 1 p 84) *dasabalo* occurs as an epithet of the Buddha but among the numerous epithets applied in the *Buddhavamsa* to the various Buddhas the term does not occur nor have I been able to find it in the published portions of any of the great Nikâyas. (Ten Nâga balas are ascribed to the Buddha in *Buddhavamsa*, p. 39 but these seem to be different.) Buddha-rakkhita, the author of the *Ginâlanakâra*, probably lived at about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. and Hardy's paraphrase of his interpretations (in the 'Manual of Buddhism' pp 380 381) is throughout inaccurate. As therefore it is precisely the growth of ideas about the Buddha that is of prime importance in the history of Buddhism, I give here Buddha-rakkhita's explanation, adding the Sanskrit names as given in the Mahâvyutpatti, § 8 —

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|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----|
| 1. <i>Thânâhâna nâna bala</i>     | <i>Sthânasthâna-gâna bala</i> | (1) |
| 2. <i>Sabbatha-gâmmi-patipadâ</i> | <i>Karma vipâka</i>           | (5) |
| 3. <i>Aneka-dhâtû-nânâ-dhâtû</i>  | <i>Nânâdhimukt</i>            | (4) |
| 4. <i>Sattâman</i>                | <i>trikâti</i>                | (3) |



ledge<sup>1</sup>, in the fourteenfold knowledge of Buddha<sup>2</sup>, in the eighteen characteristics of a Buddha<sup>3</sup>—in a word in all the qualities of a Buddha. For all the Buddhas are exactly alike in all the Buddha-qualities.

But if, Nâgasena, that be so, what is the reason that it was only the Gotama Bodisat who carried out the penance?’

Gotama the Bodisat had gone forth from the world O king when his knowledge<sup>4</sup> was immature and his wisdom was immature. And it was when he was bringing that immature knowledge to maturity that he carried out the penance.

19 ‘Why then, Nâgasena, was it that he thus went forth with knowledge and with wisdom immatured? Why did he not first mature his knowledge and then with his knowledge matured renounce the world?’

‘When the Bodisat O king saw the women of his harem all in disorder<sup>5</sup>, then did he become dis-

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5 Vipâka vemattatâ	Indriya parâpara	(7)
6 Samkilesa-vodâna vatthu	Sarvatra gâminî pratipad	(2)
7 Indriya paropariya	Samkilesa vyavadâna vyuttâhâna	(6)
8 Pubbe nivâsânussate	Purva nivasânusmrîti	(8)
9 Dibba kakkhu	Kyut utpatî	(9)
10 Asava kkhaya	Âsrava kshaya	(10)

Some of these terms are found in the Dharma-sangraha Anecdota Oxoniensia, vol 1 part 5 pp 16 51

<sup>1</sup> *Kâsa asâdhârana ñâna* not yet found elsewhere

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the above ten with four others

<sup>3</sup> The details of these eighteen are given by Spence Hardy in the Manual of Buddhism p 381 but he does not mention his authority. Hîmañi kumburê (p 422) merely repeats the Pâli.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Of the four Truths’ is Hîmañi kumburê’s gloss.

<sup>5</sup> See Gâtaka I 61. But the whole episode is told in the Pîakas not of the Bodisat, but of Yasa (Mahâvagga I, 7)

gusted and in him thus disgusted discontent sprang up. And on perceiving that his heart was filled with discontent a certain god of those that wait on Death (Mâra) thought 'This now is the time to dispel that discontent of his heart, and standing in the air he gave utterance to these words "C honourable one! O fortunate one! Be not thou distressed. On the seventh day from this the heavenly treasure of the Wheel shall appear to thee with its thousand spokes its tire and its nave complete and perfect and the other treasures those that walk on earth and those that travel through the sky shall come to thee of their own accord, and the words of command of thy mouth shall bear sway over the four great continents and the two thousand dependent isles and thou shalt have above a thousand sons heroes mighty in strength to the crushing out of the armies of the foe and with those sons surrounding thee thou, master of the Seven Treasures, shalt rule the world' [286] But even as if a bar of iron heated the livelong day and glowing throughout, had entered the orifice of his ear so was it that those words O king entered the ear of the Bodisat. And to the natural distress he already felt there was added, by that utterance of the god, a further emotion anxiety and fear. Just as a mighty fiery furnace were fresh fuel thrown on it, would the more furiously burn—just as the broad earth, by nature moist and already swampy through the water dripping on it from the vegetation and the grass that have arisen on it would become more muddy still when a great rain cloud had poured out rain upon it—so to the distress that he already felt there was

added, by that utterance of the god, a further emotion anxiety, and fear

20 'But tell me Nâgasena, if the heavenly Wheel-treasure had, on the seventh day appeared to the Bodisat, would he the Wheel having appeared have been turned back from his purpose ?

No Wheel-treasure appeared, O king on the seventh day to the Bodisat. For rather that was a lie that was told by that god with the object of tempting him. And even had it appeared yet would not the Bodisat have turned aside. And why not? Because the Bodisat O king, had firmly grasped (the facts of) the impermanence (of all things, of) the suffering (inherent in existence as an individual of) the absence of a soul (in any being made up of the five Skandhas), and had thus arrived at the destruction of the attachment (to individuality which arises from lust, or from heresy, or from dependence upon outward acts or from delusions as to the possession of a permanent soul)<sup>1</sup> The water O king which flows into the river Ganges from the Anottata lake, and from the Ganges river into the great ocean, and from the great ocean into the openings into the

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<sup>1</sup> Upâdânakkhayam patto Childers says that the destruction of these upâdânas constitutes Arahatsip. I know of no authority for this and it is incompatible with the Buddhist theory of Arahatsip that any Arahats should go through such a period of penance as our author supposes the Bodisat to have done after he had reached this destruction of the upâdânas. The perception of the first of the above facts, the impermanence of all things and beings (*aniccam*) constitute indeed the 'entrance upon the path' (see above, p 25) and of course the upâdânas are destroyed in every Arahats but that is very different from Childers's conclusion which would make the terms convertible

regions under the earth<sup>1</sup>—would that water, after it had once entered that opening turn back and flow again into the great ocean and from the great ocean into the Ganges river and from the Ganges river into the Anottata lake?

[287] Certainly not, Sir

In the same way, O king it was for the sake of that last existence of his that the Bodisat had matured merit through the immeasurable æons of the past. He had now reached that last birth the knowledge of the Buddhas had grown mature in him in six years he would become a Buddha, all knowing the highest being in the world. Would then the Bodisat for the sake of the Wheel treasure, turn back?

‘Certainly not, Sir

‘No! Though the great earth O king with all its peaks and mountain ranges should turn back yet the Bodisat would not before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the water of the Ganges should flow backwards up the stream, yet the Bodisat would not turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the mighty ocean with its immeasurable waters<sup>2</sup> should dry up like the water in the footprint of a cow<sup>3</sup> yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though Sineru, the king of the moun-

<sup>1</sup> Pâtāla mukham which the Sinhalese repeats. There is a similar sequence in the Samyutta I 5 4.

<sup>2</sup> Aparimita gala dharo. Hīnaśī kumbhū p 424 has dhārī which may either be the same in meaning as dharo or refer to the dhārā, the streams of water.

<sup>3</sup> Gopade not in Childers but compare Gopadaka, puddle in a similar connection at Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī I, 147 (where one MS reads Gopade).

tains should split up into a hundred or a thousand fragments yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the sun and moon with all the stars should fall like a clod upon the ground yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the expanse of heaven should be rolled up like a mat yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood<sup>1</sup> And why not? Because he had torn asunder every bond

21 Venerable Nâgasena, how many bonds are there in the world?

There are these ten bonds in the world, O king bound by which men renounce not the world, or turn back again to it. And what are the ten? A mother, O king, is often a bond and a father and a wife, and children and relations and friends and wealth, and easy income [288] and sovranty and the five pleasures of sense. These are the ten bonds common in the world bonds bound by which men renounce not the world or turn back to it. And all these bonds had the Bodisat O king, burst through. And therefore could he not O king turn back.

22 'Venerable Nâgasena if the Bodisat, on discontent arising in his heart at the words of the god, though his knowledge (of the four Truths) was yet imperfect and his insight of a Buddha not mature did nevertheless go forth into renunciation of the world of what advantage was penance to him then? Ought he not rather awaiting the maturity of his knowledge to have lived in the enjoyment of all (suitable) foods?

There are, O king these ten sorts of individuals who are despised and contemned in the world,

thought shameful looked down upon held blame-worthy treated with contumely not loved And what are the ten? A woman without a husband O king, and a weak creature and one without friends or relatives and a glutton and one dwelling in a disreputable family and the friend of sinners and he whose wealth has been dissipated and he who has no character and he who has no occupation<sup>1</sup> and he who has no means These are the ten despised and contemned in the world thought shameful, looked down upon held blameworthy, treated with contumely not loved<sup>2</sup> It was on calling these conditions to mind O king that this idea occurred to the Bodisat "Let me not incur blame among gods and men as being without occupation or without means<sup>3</sup> Let me as a master in action, held in respect by reason of action one having the supremacy which arises from action one whose conduct is based upon action, one who carries action (into every concern of life)<sup>4</sup>, one who has his dwelling in action be constant in earnestness<sup>4</sup> That was the spirit, O king in which the Bodisat, when he was bringing his knowledge to maturity undertook the practice of penance

23 Venerable Nāgasena the Bodisat, when he was undergoing penance said thus to himself

<sup>1</sup> Kamma is here explained by *Hīnañ kumburê* by *karmānta* (such as husbandry or merchandise)

<sup>2</sup> On this list of epithets compare above p 229 (of the Pali).

<sup>3</sup> Kamma dhoreyyo. The latter word is not in Childers *Hīnañ kumburê* (p 427) has *karmayama usulannâ wû* It is the Sanskrit *dhaureya* and the whole might be rendered like a beast of burden whose load is action

<sup>4</sup> Appamādo—that constant theme of praise and exhortation in the early Buddhist books.

[289] "But it is not by this penance severe that I shall reach the peculiar faculty of the insight arising from the knowledge of that which is fit and noble—that insight beyond the powers of ordinary men. May there not be now some other way to the wisdom (of Buddhahood)<sup>1</sup>?

Was then the Bodisat at that time, confused in his mind about the way<sup>2</sup>?

'There are twenty five qualities, O king which are causes of weakness of mind, weakened by which the mind cannot successfully be devoted to the destruction of the *Âsavas* (the Great Evils—lust, becoming delusion and ignorance)<sup>3</sup>. And what are the twenty-five? Anger, O king and enmity and hypocrisy<sup>4</sup> and conceit<sup>5</sup> and envy, and avarice and deceit<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These words already quoted above IV 6 20 (p 244 of the Pali) are put into the mouth of the Bodisat after the conclusion of the penance in the *Mahâ Sakkaka Sutta* (M I 246) which is the chief Pîṭaka text on the penance (the *Dukkha kârikâ*). The Sinhalese version here (p 427) has already been given in the note on the former passage.

<sup>2</sup> The way to Buddhahood (not the way to Arahatsip). This is Hînaśī kumburê's explanation which agrees with the context.

<sup>3</sup> It will be noticed that (the destruction of the *Âsavas* being Arahatsip not Buddhahood) this is really no reply.

<sup>4</sup> Makkho depreciation of the good qualities of others, says Hînaśī kumburê pp 427, 564. But the use of the word at *Gâtaka* I 385 *Mahāvagga* I 15 4 *Kullavagga* III 34 2 *Magghima Nikāya* I 15, shows that concealing one's own faults is rather the meaning.

<sup>5</sup> *Pālāso* not in Childers. But see *Anguttara Nikāya* II 6 12 *Puggala Paññattī* II 2, *Magghima Nikāya* I 15 &c. This and the last are usually mentioned together (see for instance below VII 2 18) and the contrast is concealing the faults one has and laying claim to virtues one has not.

<sup>6</sup> *Mâyā*. It is noteworthy that this famous word, which plays so great a part in the later philosophies and which is often sup-

and treachery and obstinacy<sup>1</sup> and perverseness<sup>2</sup> and pride and vainglory and the intoxication (of exalted ideas about birth or health or wealth), and negligence in (well-doing) and intellectual inertness or bodily sloth<sup>3</sup> and drowsiness<sup>4</sup> and idleness, and friendship with sinners and forms, and sounds and odours and tastes, and sensations of touch and hunger and thirst<sup>5</sup> and discontent<sup>6</sup> These are the

posed to express a fundamental conception of the Buddhists has not yet been traced and will probably never be found in the *Piṭakas* in any other than this subordinate and purely ethical sense. So when Mr Gough in his *Philosophy of the Upanishads* says p 186 that pessimism, metempsychosis and *mâyâ* (the primitive world fiction) are retained in Buddhism he is as wrong about *mâyâ* as he is about metempsychosis. He is evidently still under the delusion that Buddhism teaches the transmigration of souls and that it has inherited from such schoolmen as Sankarâcharya the theory of the *mayâ*. This is as funny as the astounding blindness which makes him say (pp 267 268) there is no quest of verity of an active law of righteousness (in Buddhism) but only a yearning after a lapse into the void (1). The converse proposition would be nearer to the actual fact and the Buddhist *Avigga* is quite different from the *Mâyâ* of the later Vedântists. How absolutely different is the world in which the thoughts of a Buddhist would move is shown by Hīnaśī kumburē's gloss. The *mâyâ* of concealing faults one has (*tamāge ceti aguna saṅgawana mâyâ*)

<sup>1</sup> *Thambho* (not stupor as Childers has it) That obstinacy of mind (*drīḍhawā sīti ceti bawā*) which will not bend to the exhortation of the great, says the Sinhalese

<sup>2</sup> *Sārambho*, not merely 'clamour angry talk,' as Childers has it. See the commentary on the word *sārambhī* at *Gātaka* III 259, with which Hīnaśī kumburē here agrees. Contrariness would be perhaps a better rendering.

<sup>3</sup> *Thīnamiddham*, so Hīnaśī kumburē (but he takes them as two)

<sup>4</sup> *Tandī* as Hīnaśī kumburē reads (for Mr Trenckner's *nandi*)

<sup>5</sup> *Khudā pipāsa* which must be taken separately to make up the twenty five. The Sinhalese takes them as two.

<sup>6</sup> *Aratī* which the Sinhalese (taking *thīna* and *middha* separately) omits.



twenty five qualities O king which are causes of weakness of mind, weakened by which the mind cannot successfully be devoted to the destruction of the Âsavas (And of these it was) hunger and thirst, O king which had then seized hold of the body<sup>1</sup> of the Bodisat And his body being thus, as it were 'possessed' his mind was not rightly devoted to the destruction of the Âsavas Now the Bodisat O king through the immeasurable æons of the past, had followed after the perception of the Four Noble Truths through all of his successive births Is it then possible that in his last existence, in the birth in which that perception was to arise there should be any confusion in his mind as to the way? But nevertheless there arose, O king in the Bodisat's mind the thought 'May there not now be some other way to the wisdom (of a Buddha)?' And already before that, O king when he was only one month old, when his father the Sakya was at work (ploughing) the Bodisat placed in his sacred cot for coolness under the shade of the Gambu tree, sat up crosslegged and putting away passion free from all evil conditions of heart, he entered into and remained in the first *Ghâna*—a state of joy and ease born of seclusion, full of reflection full of investigation, [290] and so into the second, and so into the third and so into the fourth *Ghâna*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pariyâdiyaṃsu* literally were suffused as to the body of (*Hīnaṃ kumburē haṃ sarīrayeṃ vyâpta wū*) The passive forms of this verb are always difficult to translate. See above p 254 and below, pp 296, 297 (of the Pāli) and *Kullavagga* VI 2 6 VII, 2 1

<sup>2</sup> This passage follows in the *Mahā Sakkaka Sutta* immediately after the passage quoted above (*Magghima Nikāya* I, 246) and the

‘Very good, Nāgasena! That is so and I accept it as you say. It was whilst he was bringing his knowledge to maturity that the Bodisat underwent the penance

[Here ends the dilemma as to the penance undergone by the Bodisat.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY THIRD  
VIRTUE STRONGER THAN VICE]

24 ‘Venerable Nāgasena which is the more powerful virtue or vice?’

Virtue O king<sup>1</sup>

That is a saying Nāgasena, which I cannot believe—that virtue is more powerful than vice. For there are to be seen here (in the world) men who destroy living creatures, who take to themselves what has not been given who walk in evil in their lusts, who speak lies who commit gang robberies on whole villages, who are highwaymen, sharpers, and swindlers and these all according to their crime suffer the cutting off of their hands or their feet or their hands and feet, or their ears or

incident is also related at Gataka I, 57. But in both these books there is reference only to the first—not to the second, third and fourth *Ghānas*. As this is therefore only another instance of the difference between the *Piṭakas* and the more advanced views of our author, I have not translated the remaining *Ghānas*. As will be seen from the version of them in my *Buddhist Suttas* from the Pāli (S. B. E. vol. xi p. 272) the idea that a mere baby could have practised these higher meditations would only become possible after the Buddha theory had been much more developed than it is in the *Piṭakas*.

<sup>1</sup> *Kasaṇam*. So it has been already laid down at III 7 7 (pp. 83, 84 of the Pāli), that merit (*puñṇam*) is more than demerit.

their nose or their ears and nose or the Gruel Pot or the Chank Crown or the Râhus Mouth or the Fire Garland, or the Hand Torch or the Snake Strips or the Bark Dress or the Spotted Antelope or the Flesh Hooks or the Penny Cuts or the Brine Slits, or the Bar Turn or the Straw Seat, or they are anointed with boiling oil, or eaten by dogs or are impaled alive or are beheaded with a sword<sup>1</sup> Some of them sin one night and that night experience the fruit of their sin, some sinning by night experience the next day, some sinning one day experience that day some sinning by day experience that night some experience when two days or three have elapsed But all experience in this present visible world the result of their iniquity And is there any one Nagasena, who from having provided a meal with all its accessories<sup>2</sup> for one or two or three, or four, or five or ten or a hundred or a thousand (members of the Order) has enjoyed in this present visible world wealth or fame or happiness—(is there any one who) from righteousness of life, or from observance of the Uposatha (has received bliss even in this life<sup>3</sup>)?’

25 There are [291] O king four men who by giving gifts, and by the practice of uprightness and by the keeping of Uposatha even in their earthly bodies attained to glory in Tidasapura (the city of the gods)

<sup>1</sup> This is a repetition of the list given above (I 276–278) where the technical terms are explained Compare Mr William Andrews's book Punishments in the Olden Time

<sup>2</sup> *Saparivâram danam Pîrikara sahita wû mahâ dandî* says the Sinhalese p 430

<sup>3</sup> The words in brackets are supplied from *Hinasti kumburê*

And who Sir, were they<sup>1</sup>?

'Mandhâtâ the king and Nimi the king, and Sâdhina the king and Guttîla the musician<sup>2</sup>

'Venerable Nâgasena, this happened thousands of births ago and is beyond the ken of either of us two. Give me if you can, some examples from that period (of the world) which is now elapsing in which the Blessed One has been alive

In this present period O king the slave Punnaka, on giving a meal to Sâriputta the Elder attained that day to the dignity of a treasurer (*Setthi*) and he is now generally known as Punnaka the *Setthi*. The queen the mother of Gopâla who (being the daughter of poor peasant folk) sold her hair for eight pennies and therewith gave a meal to Mahâ Kakkâyana the Elder and his seven companions became that very day the chief queen of king Udena. Suppiyâ the believing woman, cut flesh from her own thigh to provide broth<sup>3</sup> for a sick Bhikkhu and on the very next day the wound closed up, and the place became cured with skin grown over it. Mallikâ the queen who (when a poor flower girl) gave the last night's gruel (she had reserved for her own dinner) to the Blessed One became that very day the chief queen of the king of Kosala<sup>4</sup>. Sumana, the garland maker, when he had

<sup>1</sup> The king himself has already mentioned them in reverse order above I 172

<sup>2</sup> The legends will be found in full in the Gâtaka stories numbered respectively in Professor Fausbøll's edition, 258 533, 494, and 243

<sup>3</sup> *Paññâdanīyam*. See the note on Mahāvagga VI 23, where this curious story is given in full.

<sup>4</sup> See Gâtaka III, 495 496 for this story. *Âbhidosikam* is not in Childers, but see the Sutta Vibhanga, Pârâgila I, 5 6

presented to the Blessed One eight bunches of jessamine flowers came that very day into great prosperity Eka saṭṭaka the Brahman who gave to the Blessed One his only garment received that very day the office of Sabbatṭhaka (Minister in general)<sup>1</sup> All these O king came into the enjoyment of wealth and glory in their then existing lives

So then Nāgasena with all your searching and enquiry you have only found six cases<sup>2</sup>

That is so O king

26 'Then it is vice Nāgasena, and not virtue which is the more powerful For on one day alone I have seen ten men expiating their crimes by being impaled alive and thirty even and forty and fifty [292] and a hundred and a thousand And further there was Bhaddasala the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda<sup>3</sup> and he waged war against king Kāṇḍagutta<sup>4</sup> Now in that war Nāgasena, there were eighty Corpse Dances For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the slaughter of ten thousand elephants and a lac of horses and five thousand charioteers and a hundred koṭis of soldiers on foot) then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battle field And all the men

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<sup>1</sup> Received from the king the great honour (sammāna) called sabbatṭhaka, says Hīnaśīlumburē p 431 But we find a particular office so called at Gāṭaka II, 57 (It is true the reading there is sabbatṭhaka but Mr Trenckner's reading is doubtless preferable)

<sup>2</sup> All these cases have already been referred to above I 172

<sup>3</sup> Nandagutta of the Brahman caste says the Sinhalese, p 431

<sup>4</sup> Descended from the Sākya race adds Hīnaśīlumburē

thus slain came to destruction through the fruit of the Karma of their evil deeds<sup>1</sup> And therefore too do I say Nâgasena, that vice is more powerful than virtue And have you heard Nâgasena that in all this dispensation (since the time of Gotama the Buddha) the giving by the Kosala king has been unequalled?

Yes I have heard so O king

But did he Nâgasena on account of his having given gifts so unequalled receive in this present life wealth or glory or happiness?

No, O king, he did not.

'Then in that case surely Nâgasena vice is more powerful than virtue?

27 Vice O king by reason of its meanness, dies quickly away But virtue, by reason of its grandeur, takes a long time to die And this can be further examined into by a metaphor Just O king as in the West Country<sup>2</sup> the kind of corn called Kumuda bhandîkâ ripening quickly and being garnered in a month is called Mâsalu (got in a month)<sup>3</sup> but the rices only come to perfection in six months or five What then is the difference what the distinction herein between Kumuda bhandîkâ and rice?

The one is a mean plant, O king the other a grand one The rices are worthy of kings, meet for

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<sup>1</sup> The Pali being otherwise unintelligible the above version has been expanded in accordance with the Sinhalese interpretation Kavaṇḍha as a living headless trunk occurs already in the Sutta Vibhanga, Pāragika IV 9 3

<sup>2</sup> Aparante This may mean merely the western country (as at Gāṭaka I, 98) or may be a specific place name as Aparāntika is in the Indian Antiquary VII 263

<sup>3</sup> So the Sinhalese which seems to follow a slightly different reading

the king's table, the other is the food of servants and of slaves

[293] Just so O king it is by reason of its meanness that vice dies quickly away But virtue by its grandeur takes a long time to die

28 But Nāgasena it is just those things which come most quickly to their end which are in the world considered the most powerful And so still vice must be the more powerful not virtue Just, Nāgasena, as the strong man who, when he enters into a terrible battle is able the most quickly to get hold of his enemies heads under his armpit<sup>1</sup> and dragging them along to bring them prisoners to his lord that is the champion who is regarded in the world as the ablest hero—just as that surgeon who is able the most quickly to extract the dart, and allay the disease is considered the most clever—just as the accountant who is able with the greatest speed to make his calculations, and with most rapidity to show the result is considered the cleverest counter—just as the wrestler who is able the most quickly to lift his opponent up and make him fall flat on his back is considered the ablest hero—just so Nāgasena it is that one of these two things—virtue and vice—which most quickly reaches its end that is, in the world, the more powerful of the two

'The Karma of both the two O king will be made evident in future births, but vice besides that will by reason of its guilt be made evident at once, and in this present life The rulers (Kshatriyas)

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<sup>1</sup> Upakakkhake. The word is not in the Pāli dictionaries but I follow Hīnaśī-kumburē p 432 who renders it Kisilla and the context at the parallel passage Gātaka I, 63 (see also Gātaka I 158, and the Sutta V bhanga II 260)

of old O king established this decree Whosoever takes life shall be subject to a fine and whosoever takes to himself what has not been given and whosoever commits adultery and whosoever speaks lies and whosoever is a dacoit, and whosoever is a highwayman and whosoever cheats and swindles Such men shall be liable to be fined or beaten or mutilated or broken<sup>1</sup> or executed And in pursuance thereof they held repeated enquiry and then adjudged one or other punishment accordingly But O king has there ever been by any one a decree promulgated Whosoever gives gifts, or observes a virtuous life, or keeps Uposatha, to him shall wealth be given or honours<sup>2</sup> And do they make continued enquiry, and bestow wealth or honours accordingly as they do stripes or bonds upon a thief?

‘Certainly not Sir

Well if they did so then would virtue too be made evident even in this life [294] But as they neither make such enquiry concerning givers nor bestow wealth and honours upon them therefore is virtue not manifested now And this is the reason, O king whv vice is made known in this life whereas he (the giver) receives the more abundantly in the lives to come And therefore it is virtue which through the destructions brought about by Karma is by far the more powerful of the two

‘Very good Nāgasena! Only by one wise as you could this puzzle have been so well solved

<sup>1</sup> Bhettabbo, have their arms or legs broken.

<sup>2</sup> In this sentence the translation follows *Hīnaś kumburē*, who has apparently had a different and fuller reading before him



The problem put by me in worldly sense have you  
in transcendental sense made clear

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[Here ends the dilemma as to virtue and vice]

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[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY FOURTH  
OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD]

29 Venerable Nāgasena, these givers when they  
bestow their offerings devote them specifically to  
former (relatives) now departed<sup>1</sup> saying May  
this gift benefit such and such Now do they (the  
dead) derive any benefit therefrom?

Some do O king and some do not

Which then are they that do and which do  
not?

‘Those who have been reborn in purgatory O  
king, do not nor those reborn in heaven, nor  
those reborn as animals And of those reborn as  
Pretas three kinds do not—the Vantāsikā (who  
feed on vomit), the Khuppipāsino (who hunger  
and thirst), the Niggāmatanḥikā (who are con-  
sumed by thirst) But the Paradattūpagivino  
(who live on the gifts of others) they do derive profit  
and those who bear them in remembrance do so  
too

‘Then Nāgasena offerings given by the givers  
have run to waste<sup>2</sup>, and are fruitless, since those

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<sup>1</sup> Petā which are not ghosts disembodied souls but new  
beings whose link of connection with the departed is not soul  
but Karma

<sup>2</sup> Vissotam, from sru. The Sinhalese, p 434 has āsthāna  
gata wanneya (for āsthāna)

for whose benefit they are given derive no profit therefrom

No O king They run not to waste neither are fruitless The givers themselves derive profit from them

‘Then convince me of this by a simile

‘Suppose O king people were to get ready fish and meat and strong drinks and rice and cakes, and make a visit on a family related to them If their relatives should not accept their complimentary present would that present be wasted or fruitless?’

‘No Sir it would go to the owners of it.

Well just so the givers themselves derive the profit Or just O king [295] as if a man were to enter an inner chamber and there were no exit in front of him how would he get out?’

By the way he entered

Well just so the givers themselves derive the profit

30 Let that pass Nagasena That is so and I accept it as you say We will not dispute your argument But venerable Nāgasena, if the offerings made by such givers do advantage certain of the departed and they do reap the result of the gifts then if a man who destroys living creatures and drinks blood and is of cruel heart, were after committing murder or any other dreadful act, to dedicate it to the departed saying “May the result of this act of mine accrue to the departed”—would it then be transferred to them?

No, O king

But what is the reason, what is the cause, that a good deed can accrue to them, and not an evil one?

'This is really not a question you should ask O king Ask me no foolish question, O king in the idea that an answer will be forthcoming You will be asking me next why space is boundless, why the Ganges does not flow up stream why men and birds are bipeds and the animals quadrupeds'

'It is not to annoy you that I ask this question, Nâgasena but for the sake of resolving a doubt There are many people in the world who are left-handed or squint<sup>1</sup> I put that question to you, thinking "Why should not also these unlucky ones have a chance<sup>2</sup> of bettering themselves?'

An evil deed O king cannot be shared with one who has not done it, and has not consented to it People convey water long distances by an aque duct But could they in the same way remove a great mountain of solid rock?

Certainly not, Sir

Well just in that way can a good deed be shared, but a bad one cannot And one can light a lamp with oil but could one in the same way, O king light it with water?

[296] 'Certainly not Sir

'Well so is it that a good deed can be shared, but not an evil one And husbandmen take water from a reservoir to bring their crops to maturity but could they for the same purpose O king take water from the sea?

<sup>1</sup> *Vâmagâhino viṭakkhukâ*. Neither of these words are in the dictionaries *Hīnaṭṭumburê* p 436 says who spoil what they take hold of and whose eyes have lost their cunning

<sup>2</sup> *Oṭāra*, which the Sinhalese renders *awakāsaya*, and in that sense the word is used at *Magghima Nikāya* I 334.

‘Certainly not, Sir

So again is it that though a good deed can be shared, an evil one cannot

31 But venerable Nāgasena, why is that? Convince me of this by a reason I am not blind or unobservant I shall understand when I have heard

‘Vice O king is a mean thing, virtue is great and grand By its meanness vice affects<sup>1</sup> only the doer but virtue by its grandeur overspreads the whole world of gods and men

Show me this by a metaphor

‘Were a tiny drop of water to fall on the ground O king would it flow on over ten leagues or twelve?’

Certainly not. It would only have effect<sup>2</sup> on that very spot of ground on which it fell

But why so?’

‘Because of its minuteness

‘Just so O king is vice minute And by reason of its littleness it affects the doer only and cannot possibly be shared But if a mighty rain cloud were to pour out rain satisfying the surface of the earth would that water spread round about?’

‘Certainly, Sir That thunderstorm would fill up the depressions in the ground and the pools and ponds, and the gullies and crevices and chasms and the lakes and reservoirs and wells and lotus tanks and the water would spread abroad for ten leagues or for twelve.’

Pariyādayati. See the note above at IV, 8 23

\* A similar metaphor is used below IV 8 55 (p 311 of the Pāh).

\* This long list is made up of the two given above at pp 35

‘But why so O king?’

Because of the greatness of the storm

‘Just so O king is virtue great And by reason of its abundance it can be shared by gods and men

‘Venerable Nâgasena, why is it that vice is so limited [297] and virtue so much more wide-reaching?’

‘Whosoever O king in this world gives gifts, and lives in righteousness and keeps Uposatha<sup>1</sup>, he glad, right glad joyful cheerful happy becomes filled with a sweet sense of trust and bliss and bliss ruling in his heart his goodness grows still more and more abundantly Like a deep pool of clear water O king and into which on one side the spring pours, while on the other the water flows away so as it flows away it comes again, and there can be no failure there—so O king does his goodness grow more and more abundantly If even through a hundred years O king a man were to keep on transferring to others (the merit of) any good he

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259 of the Pâli (Paragraphs II, 1 10 and IV 6 55 of the translation)

<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist Sabbath See Buddhism pp 140 141

<sup>2</sup> *Âvaggeya* which the Sinhalese p 437 merely repeats is ambiguous (literally cause to bend towards) Compare *Gâtaka* I 74 89 108 171 II 243 In most places the meaning bend back or towards comes to have the secondary sense of reflect But throughout this discussion there is an underlying reference to a very beautiful Buddhist conception that a man can transfer to others the merit of any good deed he has done Thus at the end of a palm leaf manuscript the copyist often adds the pious wish

May the merit of my having made this copy redound to the advantage of all men or words to that effect And the preceding metaphor would seem to show that this must be the secondary sense here attached to causing to bend towards —the more he

had done the more he gave it away the more would his goodness grow, and he would still be able to share it with whomsoever he would. This O king, is the reason why virtue is so much the greater of the two

32 But on doing evil, O king a man becomes filled with remorse<sup>1</sup> and the heart of him who feels remorse cannot get away (from the thought of the evil he has done) it is forcibly bent back on it thrown back on it, obtains no peace<sup>2</sup> miserable, burning abandoned of hope he wastes away and gaining no relief from depression<sup>3</sup> he is as it were possessed with his woe<sup>1</sup>. Just, O king as a drop of water, falling on a dry river bed with its mighty sandbanks rising and falling in undulations along its crooked and shifty course gains not in volume but is swallowed up on the very spot where it fell just so O king is a man when he has done wrong, overcome with remorse and the heart of him who feels remorse cannot get away from the thought of the evil he has done it is forcibly bent back on it thrown back on it obtains no peace miserable burning abandoned of hope he wastes away, and gaining no release from his depression, he is as it

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spends (as it were) his virtue the more remains just as however much the water flows away from the spring still quite as much remains and he can still share with others that which is left. The doctrine of imputed righteousness is not confined to Buddhists but the Buddhist theory is really quite different from the corresponding Western ideas, even from the Catholic doctrine of the transference of the righteousness of saints.

<sup>1</sup> So already above III 7 7 (I 128)

<sup>2</sup> *Patikīyati patiku/ati pativa//ati na sampasāriyati*  
None of these words are in the dictionaries

<sup>3</sup> *Na parivāddhate* literally is not dilated.

were swallowed up of his woe. This is the reason  
O king why vice is so mean

Very good, Nāgasena<sup>1</sup> That is so and I accept  
it as you say

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[Here ends the problem as to virtue and vice]

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[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY FIFTH  
DREAMS]

33 'Venerable Nāgasena men and women in  
this world see dreams pleasant and evil things they  
have seen before and things they have not things  
they have done before and things they have not  
[298] dreams peaceful and terrible, dreams of  
matters near to them and distant from them full of  
many shapes and innumerable colours What is  
this that men call a dream and who is it who  
dreams it?

It is a suggestion<sup>1</sup> O king coming across the  
path of the mind which is what is called a dream  
And there are six kinds of people who see dreams—  
the man who is of a windy humour<sup>2</sup>, or of a bilious  
one or of a phlegmatic one the man who dreams  
dreams by the influence of a god the man who does  
so by the influence of his own habits, and the man  
who does so in the way of prognostication<sup>3</sup> And

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<sup>1</sup> Nīmittam aramunuwa in the Sinhalese p. 438

<sup>2</sup> Vātiko, which Childers renders wrongly rheumatic. Wāta prakṛti wā, says the Sinhalese p. 438

<sup>3</sup> The Sinhalese gives the different kinds of dreams seen by  
each of these six—the first dreams of journeys through space the  
second of fire and conflagrations, the third of water, the fourth

of these O king only the last kind of dreams is true all the rest are false

34 Venerable Nagasena when a man dreams a dream that is a prognostication how is it? Does his own mind set out itself to seek the omen or does the prognostication come of its own accord into the path of his mind or does some one else come and tell him of it?

'His own mind does not itself seek the omen neither does any one else come and tell him of it. The prognostication comes of its own accord into his mind. It is like the case of a looking glass, which does not go anywhere to seek for the reflection, neither does any one else come and put the reflection on to the looking glass. But the object reflected comes from somewhere or other across the sphere over which the reflecting power of the looking glass extends

35 Venerable Nāgasena does the same mind which sees the dream also know Such and such a result auspicious or terrible will follow?

No that is not so O king After the omen has occurred he tells others and then they explain the meaning of it.

'Come now Nāgasena give me a simile to explain this

'It is like the marks O king and pimples, and cutaneous eruptions which arise on a man's body to his profit or loss, to his fame or dishonour, to his praise or blame, to his happiness or woe [299] Do

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of good or bad things according as the god is kindly or malignant the fifth of what he has himself seen or heard, and the last of his future gain or loss



in that case the pimples come because they know  
 "Such and such is the event which we shall bring  
 about? "

'Certainly not Sir But according to the place  
 on which the pimples have arisen the fortune tellers  
 making their observations give decision saying  
 Such and such will be the result

Well in the same way O king it is not the same  
 mind which dreams the dream which also knows

Such and such a result, conspicuous or terrible, will  
 follow" But after the omen has occurred he tells  
 others and they then explain the meaning of it

36 'Venerable Nâgasena when a man dreams  
 a dream is he awake or asleep?

'Neither the one, O king nor yet the other But  
 when his sleep has become light<sup>1</sup>, and he is not yet  
 fully conscious<sup>2</sup> in that interval it is that dreams  
 are dreamt. When a man is in deep sleep O king  
 his mind has returned home (has entered again into  
 the Bhavanga)<sup>3</sup> and a mind thus shut in does not  
 act, and a mind hindered in its action knows not the  
 evil and the good and he who knows not<sup>4</sup> has no  
 dreams It is when the mind is active that dreams  
 are dreamt Just, O king, as in the darkness and  
 gloom, where no light is no shadow will fall even on  
 the most burnished mirror so when a man is in  
 deep sleep his mind has returned into itself and

<sup>1</sup> Okkante middhe like a monkey's sleep, says Hînañ-  
 kumburê.

<sup>2</sup> On bhavanga compare Abhidhammattha Sangaha III 8

<sup>3</sup> Like a bird that has re entered its nest is Hînañ kumburê's  
 gloss.

<sup>4</sup> Appa/vigânantassa, does not know the distinctions be-  
 tween bliss and woe (sukha dukkha vibhâga) says the Sim-  
 halese p. 440

a mind shut in does not act and a mind inactive knows not the evil and the good and he who knows not does not dream. For it is when the mind is active that dreams are dreamt. As the mirror, O king, are you to regard the body, as the darkness sleep, as the light the mind. Or again O king just as the glory of a sun veiled in fog is imperceptible as its rays though they do exist, are unable to pierce through, and as when its rays act not there is no light, so when a man is in deep sleep his mind has returned into itself and a mind shut in does not act and a mind inactive knows not the evil and the good, and he who knows not does not dream. For it is when the mind is active that dreams are dreamt. As the sun O king are you to regard the body as the veil of fog sleep, [300] as the rays the mind

37 'Under two conditions, O king, is the mind inactive though the body is there—when a man being in deep sleep the mind has returned into itself and when the man has fallen into a trance<sup>1</sup>. The mind of a man who is awake, O king, is excited open, clear untrammelled and no prognostication occurs to one whose mind is so. Just O king as men seeking concealment avoid the man who is open candid, unoccupied, and unreserved—just so is it that the divine intention is not manifested to the wakeful man and the man who is awake therefore sees no dream. Or again, O king just as the qualities which lead to wisdom are found not in that brother whose mode of livelihood and conduct are wrong who is the friend of sinners wicked, insolent, devoid

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<sup>1</sup> Nirodha, which the Sinhalese repeats. Probably the fourth *Ghāṇa* is here referred to

of zeal—just so is it that the divine intention is not manifested to the wakeful man, and the man who is awake therefore sees no dream

38 'Venerable Nāgasena is there a beginning a middle and an end in sleep ?

Yes O king there is

Which then is the beginning which the middle and which the end ?

The feeling of oppression and inability<sup>1</sup> in the body O king of weakness slackness, inertness—that is the beginning of sleep The light "monkey's sleep in which a man still guards his scattered thoughts<sup>2</sup>—that is the middle of sleep When the mind has entered into itself—that is the end of sleep And it is in the middle stage O king in the 'monkey's sleep' that dreams are dreamt Just O king as when a man self-restrained with collected thoughts, sted fast in the faith unshaken in wisdom plunges deep into the woods far from the sound of strife and thinks over some subtle matter, he there tranquil and at peace will master the meaning of it—just so a man still watchful, not fallen into sleep but dozing in a 'monkey's sleep' will dream a dream [301] As the sound of strife so, O king are you to regard wakefulness and as the lonely wood the 'monkey's sleep' And as that man avoiding the sound of strife, keeping out of sleep remaining in the middle stage will master the meaning of that subtle matter so the still watchful man not fallen into sleep but dozing in a 'monkey's sleep' will dream a dream

<sup>1</sup> Onāho pariyaonāho obstruction, covering See the Teviggā Sutta § 58

<sup>2</sup> Vokinnakam saggatī Destroys sleep by scattered thoughts says the Sinhalese, p 441

Very good Nâgasena<sup>1</sup> That is so, and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the dilemma as to dreams<sup>1</sup>]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-SIXTH  
PREMATURE DEATH]

39 Venerable Nâgasena, when beings die do they all die in fullness of time, or do some die out of due season ?

‘There is such a thing, O king, as death at the due time and such a thing as premature death

Then who are they whose decease is at the due time and who are they whose decease is premature ?

‘Have you ever noticed, O king, in the case of mango trees or Gambu trees or other fruit bearing trees, that their fruits fall both when they are ripe and when they are not ripe ?’

‘Yes I have

‘Well those fallen fruits do they all fall at the due time or do some fall prematurely ?’

‘Such of those fruits, Nâgasena as are ripe and mature<sup>2</sup> when they fall fall in fullness of time. But of the rest some fall because they are bored into by worms some because they are knocked down by a

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<sup>1</sup> It is not known whether the whole of this theory of dreams is taken from the Piṭakas or whether it is an expansion of views there suggested. But the germs of the theory are certainly in the Piṭakas. Thus the Buddha is made at *Magghima Nikāya* I, 249-250 to say of himself that in his midday sleep he was neither stupefied nor the contrary (neither *sammâlho* nor *asammâlho*) which comes very near to the monkey's sleep referred to through out this dilemma

<sup>2</sup> *Vilīnani, wilīkuni wū* says *Hīnaś kumburē* (p. 442).

long stick some because they are blown down by the wind some because they have become rotten — and all these fall out of due season<sup>1</sup>

Just so, O king those men who die of the effect of old age they die in fullness of time But of the rest some die of the dire effect of the Karma (of evil deeds) some of excessive journeying<sup>2</sup>, some of excessive activity

40 Venerable Nāgasena those who die of Karma or of journeying, or of activity or of old age they all die in fullness of time and even he who dies in the womb that is his appointed time, so that he too dies in fullness of time and so of him who dies in the birth chamber [302] or when he is a month old or at any age up to a hundred years It is always his appointed time and it is in the fullness of time that he dies So Nāgasena there is no such thing as death out of due season. For all who die die at the appointed time

There are seven kinds of persons O king who there being still a portion of their appointed age to run, die out of time And which are the seven? The starving man O king who can get no food whose inwards are consumed<sup>3</sup>—and the thirsty man who can get no water whose heart is dried up—and the man bitten by a snake who when consumed by the fierce energy of poison can find no cure—and he who has taken poison and when all his limbs are

<sup>1</sup> This simile has already been used above IV 3, 7 (I 235)

Gatī patibāḥḥa gamana bahulyatawen says the Sinhalese

<sup>2</sup> Upahat abbhantaro whose interior is burnt by the fierceness of the stomach fire (gaḥḥarāgni gahazi) says Hīnaśi kumburā, p 443

burning is unable to procure medicine—and one fallen into fire, who when he is aflame can find no means of putting out the fire—and he who having fallen into water can find no firm ground to stand on—and the man wounded by a dart who in his illness can find no surgeon—all these seven, there being still a portion of their appointed time to run die out of due season. And herein (in all these seven cases) I declare that they are all of one nature<sup>1</sup>. In eight ways, O king does the death of mortals take place—through excess of windy humour or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour through the adverse union of these three through variations in temperature through inequality in protection through (medical) treatment, and through the working of Karma<sup>2</sup>. And of these O king it is only death by the working of Karma that is death at the due season all the rest are cases of death out of due season. For it is said

‘By hunger thirst, by poison and by bites  
Burnt, drowned or slain men out of time do die  
By the three humours, and by three combined,  
By heats, by inequalities by aids  
By all these seven men die out of time<sup>3</sup>

41 [303] ‘But there are some men O king, who die through the working of some evil deed or other they have committed in a former birth. And of

<sup>1</sup> Hīmaśi kumburā had apparently a different reading (perhaps *ekamse na vadāmi*). For he translates, p 444. In this death I do not say that there is one cause.

<sup>2</sup> As was noticed above on p 112 (of the Pāli) some of these medical terms are very uncertain, and the Sinhalese gives no help.

<sup>3</sup> Not traced in the Pīṭakas.

these O king whosoever has starved others to death, after having been himself through many hundreds of thousands of years tormented by hunger famished exhausted emaciated and withered of heart, dried up wasted away, heated, and all on fire within, will, either as youth or man or old man die of hunger too And that death will be to him a death at the appointed time<sup>1</sup> Whosoever has put others to death by thirst, after having through many hundreds of thousands of years become a Preta consumed by thirst, thin and miserable will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die of thirst And that death will be to him a death at the appointed time Whosoever has put others to death by having them bitten by snakes, will, after wandering through many hundreds of thousands of years from existence to existence, in which he is constantly bitten by boa constrictors and black snakes, himself too either as youth or man or old man die of snake bite And that will be to him a death at the appointed time Whosoever has put others to death by poison will, after existing for many hundreds of thousands of years with burning limbs and broken body, and exhaling the odour of a corpse, himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die of poison And that will be to him a death at the appointed time Whosoever has put others to death by fire he having wandered from purgatory<sup>2</sup> to purgatory, from one mass of burning charcoal to

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<sup>1</sup> Sârnâyiko timely but Childers says temporary and we have had the word above (p 22 of the Pali) in the sense of religious The Sinhalese, p. 445 repeats the word.

<sup>2</sup> Yama visaya abode of the god of death.

another with burning and tortured limbs for many hundreds of thousands of years will himself too either as youth or man or old man be burnt to death And that will be to him a death at the appointed time Whosoever has put others to death by drowning he having suffered many hundreds of thousands of years as a being disabled, ruined broken weak in limb, and anxious in heart will himself too either as youth or man or old man die by drowning And that will be to him a death at the appointed time Whosoever has put others to death by the sword [304] he having suffered for many hundreds of thousands of years (in repeated births as an animal) from cuts and wounds and blows and bruises or (when born as a man) ever destroyed by weapons<sup>1</sup> will himself too, either as youth or man or old man perish by the sword And that will be to him a death at the appointed time.

42 'Venerable Nāgasena, the death out of due time that you also speak of—come now, tell me the reason for that

'As a great and mighty fire O king on to which dry grass and sticks and branches and leaves have been heaped, will nevertheless when this its food has been consumed die out by the exhaustion of the fuel Yet such a fire is said to have gone out in fullness of time, without any calamity or accident (having happened to it) Just so O king the man who, when he has lived many thousands of days when he is old and stricken in years dies at last of

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<sup>1</sup> Sarnāhato. Compare above pp. 181, 254 of the Pali, and *Maggāṇṇa Nikāya* I 337



old age, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, is said to have reached death in the fullness of time. But if there were a great and mighty fire, O king on to which dry grass and sticks and branches and leaves had been heaped then if a mighty rain cloud were to pour out rain upon it, and it were thus to be put out even before the fuel was consumed could it be said, O king that that great fire had gone out in fullness of time ?

‘No Sir, it could not

‘But wherein would the second fire differ, in its nature from the first ?

The second one Sir which suffered from the onset of the rain—that fire would have gone out before its time

Just so, O king whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three or from variations in temperature or from inequality in protection, or from treatment or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire or from water or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

43 Or again O king, it is like a mighty storm cloud which, rising up into the heavens should pour out rain, filling the valleys and the plains. That cloud would be said to have rained without calamity or accident. Just so O king, the man who after having lived long, dies at last when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have

reached death in the fullness of time [305] But if, O king a mighty storm cloud were to rise up into the heavens and as it did so were to be dissipated by a mighty wind could it be said O king that that cloud had perished in due time ?

‘ No Sir it could not

‘ But wherein would the second cloud differ, in its nature, from the first ?

The second one Sir which suffered from the onset of the whirlwind, would have been dissipated before its time

Just so O king whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour or of phlegmatic humour or from the union of the three or from variations in temperature or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger or from thirst, or from fire, or from water or from the sword This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time

44 ‘ Or again, O king it is like a powerful and deadly snake which being angered should bite a man and to him that poison no impediment and no accident happening to it, should bring death That poison would be said without impediment or accident, to have reached its aim Just so O king, the man who having lived long, dies at last when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age he is said to have reached unimpeded and uninterrupted to the goal of his life to have died in the fullness of time But if a snake charmer were to give a drug to the man while he was suffering from

the bite and thus get rid of the poison could it be said that the poison was removed in the fullness of time?

No Sir, it could not

But wherein O king, would the second poison differ in its nature from the first?

The second one Sir, which was acted upon by the introduction of the drug would have been removed before its end was attained

Just so O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour or of phlegmatic humour or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger or from thirst, or from fire or from water, or from the sword. This O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

45 'Or again O king, it is like the arrow discharged by an archer [306] If that arrow should go to the very end of the line of the path along which it was natural for it to go, then it would be said to have reached that aim without let or hindrance Just so, O king, the man who having lived long, dies at last when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him of old age is said to have reached death, unimpeded and uninterrupted in the fullness of time But if, at the moment when the archer was discharging the arrow, some one should catch hold of it could that arrow be said to have reached the end of the line of the path along which it was shot?

No Sir, it could not

But wherein O king, would the second arrow differ, in its nature, from the first ?

‘By the seizure which intervened, Sir, the course of the second arrow was arrested

‘Just so, O king whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease—from excess of windy humour or of bilious humour or of phlegmatic humour or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature or from inequality in protection, or from treatment or from hunger or from thirst, or from fire or from water or from the sword This O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before ones time.

46 Or again, O king, it is like the brazen vessel which a man should strike And by his striking thereof a note should be produced, and sound to the very end of the line of the path along which it was its nature to sound It would then be said to have reached that aim without let or hindrance Just so O king the man who having lived long dies at last when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him of old age, is said to have reached death, without let or hindrance, in the fullness of time. But if a man were to strike a brazen vessel and by his striking thereof a note should be produced, but some one before it had reached any distance were to touch the vessel, and at his touching thereof the sound should cease, could then that sound be said to have reached the end of the line of the path along which it was its nature to sound ?’

No, Sir, it could not.

‘ But wherein O king, would the second sound differ in its nature from the first ?

By the touching which intervened Sir that sound was suppressed<sup>1</sup>

[307] Just so O king whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease—from excess of windvhumour or of bilious humour or of phlegmatic humour or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature or from inequality in protection or from treatment, or from hunger or from thirst or from fire, or from water or from the sword This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before ones time

47 Or again O king it is like the corn seed which had sprung up well in the field and by means of a plentiful downpour of rain had become well laden far and wide<sup>2</sup> with many seeds and had survived in safety to the time of standing crops, that corn would be said to have reached, without let or hindrance, to its due season Just so, O king, the man who having lived long, dies at last when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him of old age is said to have reached death without let or hindrance in the fullness of time But if that corn after it had sprung up well in the field, should be deprived of water, die, could it be said to have reached its due season ?

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<sup>1</sup> Uparato, for which Hinañi lumburê p 449 has upahata wiyœyi.

<sup>2</sup> Otaka vitaka akinna. Ghanayawû pata/awû âkirna-wû says the Sinhalese

No, Sir, it could not

But wherein, O king would the second crop differ, in its nature from the first ?'

Oppressed by the heat which intervened that crop, Sir, perished'

'Just so O king whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour or of phlegmatic humour or from the union of the three or from variations in temperature or from inequality in protection or from treatment or from hunger or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword This, O king is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time

48 And have you ever heard O king of a young crop that, after it had come to ear, worms sprung up and destroyed down to the roots ?

We have both heard of such a thing Sir, and have seen it, too

'Well, O king was that crop destroyed in season, or out of season ?

Out of season, Sir For surely if worms had not destroyed the crop it would have survived to harvest time.

What then O king! on a disaster intervening the crop is lost, but if no injury is done it, it survives to the harvest ?'

That is so Sir'

[308] 'Just so, O king whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour or of phlegmatic humour or from the union of the three, or from variations in

temperature or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst or from fire, or from water, or from the sword This, O king is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time

49 'And have you ever heard O king of a crop that had grown and was bent down by the weight of the grains of corn, the ears having duly formed<sup>1</sup> when a so-called Karaka rain (hail storm)<sup>2</sup> falling on it, destroyed it?'

'We have both heard of such a thing Sir and have seen it, too

Well, O king! would you say the crop was destroyed in season or out of season?

Out of season, Sir For if the hail storm had not come the crop would have lasted to harvest time

'What then O king! on a disaster intervening the crop is lost but if no injury is done it, it survives to the harvest?

That is so, Sir

Just so O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour or of phlegmatic humour or from the union of the three or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection or from treatment, or from hunger or from thirst or from fire, or from water or from the sword. This O

<sup>1</sup> Maṅgarita-patte which the Sinhalese renders karal patra cettāwā

<sup>2</sup> Karaka vassam is pāsāna-warsha in the Sinhalese If karaka originally meant hard shell it could have reached its ordinary of water pot, from the fact that an empty half of a nut shell is the most common form of cup

king is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time

50 'Most wonderful, Nagasena most strange! Right well have you explained, by reason and by simile, how it is that people die before their time. That there is such a thing as premature death have you made clear and plain and evident<sup>1</sup>. A thoughtless man even Nagasena a puzzle-headed fellow could by any one of your comparisons have come to the conclusion that premature deaths do occur — [309] how much more an able man! I was convinced already Sir, by the first of your similes that such deaths happen, but nevertheless, out of the wish to hear still further and further solutions I would not give in

[Here ends the dilemma as to premature deaths]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY SEVENTH  
WONDERS AT THE GRAVE.]

51 'Venerable Nâgasena, are there wonders at the *Ketiya*s (the mounds raised over the ashes) of all who have passed entirely away (of all the Arahats deceased)<sup>2</sup>?

'Of some O king but not of others

But of which Sir is this the case, and of which not?

<sup>1</sup> *Vibhûtaṃ kataṃ* is rendered *prasaddha karaṇa laddeya* in the Sinhalese, p. 451

<sup>2</sup> *Parinibbutānaṃ*. The words in brackets are *Hinañ kumbhā*'s gloss. 'Of all who have been entirely set free' is an alternative, and perhaps a better rendering



'It is by the stedfast resolve, O king of three kinds of people that wonders take place at the *Ketiya* of some person deceased who has been entirely set free And who are the three? In the first place O king an Arahāt, when still alive, may out of pity for gods and men make the resolve

Let there be such and such wonders at my *Ketiya*<sup>1</sup>" Then, by reason of his resolve wonders happen there Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of an Arahāt at the *Ketiya* of one entirely set free

'And again, O king, the gods, out of pity for men, show wonders at the *Ketiya* of one who has been entirely set free, thinking "By this wonder may the true faith remain always established on the earth and may mankind believing grow in grace! Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of a god at the *Ketiya* of one entirely set free.

And again O king some woman or some man of believing heart, able, intelligent, wise, endowed with insight may deliberately take perfumes, or a garland, or a cloth, and place it on the *Ketiya*, making the resolve 'May such and such a wonder take place! Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of human beings at the *Ketiya* of one entirely set free.

52 'These O king, are the three kinds of people by whose stedfast resolve wonders take place at the *Ketiyas* of Arahāts deceased And if there has been no such resolve O king, by one of these, then

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<sup>1</sup> Mr Trenckner prints *evam nāma* as qualifying *Ketiya*. The Sinhalese p 451 takes it as I have rendered.

is there no wonder at the *Ketiya* even of one whose *âsavas* had been destroyed, who had attained to the sixfold insight, who was master of himself And if there be no such wonder then O king [310] one should call to mind the purity of conduct one has seen<sup>1</sup> and draw in trusting faith the conclusion

Verily this child of the Buddhas has been entirely set free!

Very good, *Nāgasena*! That is so and I accept it as you say'

[Here ends the dilemma as to wonders  
at the grave.]

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[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY EIGHTH  
CONVERSION AND CONDUCT]

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53 'Venerable *Nagasena*, those who regulate their lives aright—do they all attain to insight into the Truth, or are there some of them who do not?

'Some do O king and some do not

Then which do, Sir and which do not?

He who is born as an animal, O king even though he regulate his life aright will not attain to insight into the Truth, nor he who is born in

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<sup>1</sup> These words are very ambiguous, and unfortunately the *Sinhalese* (p 452) though much expanded, is equally so. The kind of wonder referred to throughout the dilemma is also doubtful. The only one of the kind mentioned, so far as I know in the *Pitakas* is that referred to in the *Book of the Great Decease* V 26, where the placing of garlands on a *Ketiya* produces calm in the heart. But it is difficult to believe that our author had merely a spiritual experience of this kind in his thoughts. The whole discussion points rather to the late date at which he wrote

the Preta world nor he who holds wrong views nor the lecherful man nor he who has slain his mother or his father or an Arahant nor he who has raised up a schism in the Order nor he who has shed a Buddha's blood nor he who has furtively attached himself to the Order<sup>1</sup> nor he who has become a pervert nor he who has violated a sister of the Order nor he who having been guilty of one or other of the thirteen grievous offences has not been rehabilitated nor a eunuch nor an hermaphrodite—and whosoever is a human child under seven years of age even though he regulate his life aright will not attain to insight into the Truth. To these sixteen individuals there is no attainment of insight, O King even though they regulate their life aright.

54 'Venerable Nāgasena there may or may not be a possibility of insight to the fifteen you have first singled out for opposition<sup>4</sup>. But what is the reason why an infant one under seven years of age should not even though he regulate his life aright attain to insight? Therein there is still a puzzle left. For is it not admitted that in a child there is not passion neither malice nor dullness nor pride nor heresy nor discontent nor lustful thoughts? Being undefiled by sin that which we call an infant is fit and ready (to the attainment

<sup>1</sup> Theyva samvāsaka. See Manāvagga I 69 4

<sup>2</sup> Tittiya pakkantaka gone over to the Tittivas

<sup>3</sup> Garulapattu which Hinaññambure takes to be equivalent to the Samghadisesa offences. This is doubtless correct and the use of the phrase in that sense is a sign of our author's later date

<sup>4</sup> Viraddhā 'placed in a class (woecorum wā) says the Sinhalese p 453. It is literally opposed and the idiom is curious.

even of Arāhatship—how much more)<sup>1</sup> is he worthy to penetrate at a glance into the four truths!

The following is the reason O king for my saying [311] that an infant even though he regulate his life aright cannot attain to insight. If O king one under seven years of age could feel passion about things exciting to passion could go wrong in things leading to iniquity could be befooled in matters that mislead could be maddened as to things that infatuate could understand a heresy could distinguish between content and discontent could think out virtue and vice then might insight be possible to him. But the mind of one under seven years of age O king is powerless and weak mean, small slight obscure and dull whereas the essential principle of Nirvāṇa is transcendental important weighty wide reaching and extensive. Therefore is it O king that the infant with so imperfect a mind, is unable to grasp an idea so great. It is like the case of Sineru O king the king of the mountains heavy and ponderous, wide reaching and mighty as it is—could now a man by his ordinary strength and power and energy, root that mountain up?<sup>2</sup>

Certainly not Sir,

But why not?

Because of the weakness of the man, and because of the mightiness of Sineru, the mountain king.

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are added from the Sinhalese.

<sup>2</sup> Similar metaphors have already been used in the 71st Dilemma (p. 283 of the Pāl.) and in the 74th Dilemma (p. 295 of the Pāl.)

Just so, O king is the relation of the infant's mind to Nirvâṇa<sup>1</sup>

55 'And again, it is like the broad earth O king long and wide great in expanse and extension large and mighty—would now a tiny drop of water be able to wet and turn to mud that broad earth?'<sup>2</sup>

'Certainly not Sir

But why not O king?

Because of the minuteness of the drop of water, and because of the greatness of the broad earth'

'Just so O king, is the relation of the infant's mind to Nirvâṇa

[312] 56 Or again O king suppose there were weak and powerless minute tiny limited and dull fire—would it be possible with so insignificant a fire to overcome darkness and make light appear over the whole world of gods and men?

Certainly not Sir

But why not, O king?

Because of the dullness of the fire, and because of the greatness of the world

Just so O king the mind of one under seven years of age is powerless and weak limited insignificant obscure, and dull it is veiled moreover with the thick darkness of ignorance Hard would it be, therefore, for it to shine forth with the light of knowledge And that is the reason, O king why to an infant to one under seven years of age even though he order his conduct aright there can be no attainment of insight into the Truth

<sup>1</sup> In the text the whole comparison is repeated

<sup>2</sup> For a similar metaphor see above IV, 8 31 (p 96 of the Pāṇi).

57 Or again O king suppose there were a Salaka<sup>1</sup> minute in the measure of its body and rendered lean by disease, and it on seeing an elephant king which showed the signs of rut in three places and was nine cubits in length and three in breadth and ten in girth and seven in height<sup>2</sup> coming to its lair were to begin to drag the elephant towards it with the view of swallowing it—now would the Salaka O king be able to do so<sup>3</sup>?

Certainly not, Sir

But why not O king?

Because of the minuteness of the Sālaka's body and because of the magnitude of the elephant king

Just so O king the mind of one under seven years of age is powerless and weak limited insignificant obscure and dull Grand and transcendental is the ambrosial essence of Nirvana<sup>4</sup> With that mind so powerless and weak, so limited insignificant obscure, and dull, he cannot penetrate into the grand and transcendental essence of Nir

It is unknown what this *kimi* (insect vermin small creature) is and it is not mentioned elsewhere Susruta mentions a *sâri kamul na* insect and as in one rare word at least which the Pāli translator did not sufficiently understand to restore to the ordinary Pāli form (*kalasi* for *karisi* see above I xxiii) we find *la* stood

our author's dialect for *ri* there may be some connection between the two. It would be particularly interesting to be able to determine the species and habitat of this creature as it might throw some light on the district in which our author flourished

<sup>2</sup> These measurements differ slightly from those given above, IV 8 14 (p 282 of the Pāli) for a fine elephant

<sup>3</sup> Compare the tale of the frog who wanted to swallow the bull in Æsop's fables (not yet traced in the *Gâtakas*) Is the Salaka a kind of frog much smaller than ours?

<sup>4</sup> So H'nañi *kumbure* p 455

vâna And that is the reason, O king why to an infant one under seven years of age even though he order his conduct aright there can be no attainment to insight of the Truth

Very good Nâgasera! That is so and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma on conversion and conduct]

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[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY NINTH

THE PAIN OF NIRVANA<sup>1</sup>]

[313] 58 Venerable Nâgasena how is it? Is Nirvana at bliss or is it partly pain<sup>2</sup>?

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<sup>1</sup> The following pages will seem only so much verbiage and will convey no idea to a European reader unless he realises that the Nirvâna discussed is of course not a salvation to be enjoyed by a 'soul' after death and in some other world but a state of mind to be realised and enjoyed by a man here on this earth in this life and in this life only

Though I had pointed this out already in 1876 the unanimous interpretation of Nirvâna is still the prevalent one and still continues to lead to endless confusion. Why is it then the reader may ask that our author does not contradict the Christian interpretation of the Buddhist summum bonum in so many words? Simply because it never occurred to him as possible. It was probably even as inconceivable to him as the Buddhist interpretation of it seems to be to most Western writers

<sup>2</sup> This dilemma and the next have been translated into French in the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* for 1885 (vol vi pp 336 and following). The author's name being given as Mr Lewis da Sylva, of Colombo the article as it stands is presumably a translation into French made in Paris of Mr da Sylva's version in English from the Sinhalese which may account for the fact that there is scarcely a sentence which is not misleading

Nirvāṇa is all bliss, O king There is no intermingling of pain in it

'That Sir is a saying we cannot believe—that Nirvāṇa is all bliss On this point Nāgasena we maintain that Nirvāṇa must be alloyed with pain And there is a reason for our adopting that view What is that reason? Those, Nāgasena, who seek after Nirvāṇa are seen to practise exertion and application both of body and of mind restraint in standing walking sitting lying and eating suppression of sleep subjugation of the organs of sense enunciation of wealth and care of dear relatives and friends But all those who are joyful and happy in the world take delight in and are devoted to the five pleasures of sense—they practise and delight their eyes in many kinds of pleasurable forms such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their ears in many kinds of pleasurable sounds or revelry and song such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their sense of smell with many kinds of perfumes of flowers and fruits and leaves, and bark, and roots, and sap, such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their tongue with many kinds of pleasurable tastes of hard foods and of soft of syrups drinks, and beverages such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their sense of touch with many kinds of pleasurable feelings, tender and delicate, exquisite and soft, such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their minds with many sorts of conceptions and ideas, pure and impure, good and bad, such as at any time they like the best you, on the other hand put a stop to and destroy,



mam and mangle t a drag u and retain the  
deformity of your eye and ear and nose and  
tongue and body and mind. The effect is your  
body afflicted and your mind afflicted too and you  
become afflicted on the bodily discomfort and  
pain and your mind being affected you feel mental  
discomfort too and pain. Don't take Māgandya  
be assured it will afflict no blessed One and  
sa' [314] The Samudra of mā is a destroyer  
of ease.

30. Nivāṇa O King has to give you this  
Līsaṇaṭṭa. When you O King realise that  
Nivāṇa is a state of mind and not a thing  
not Nivāṇa is the final stage of the  
realisation of Nivāṇa it is the process of seeking  
after Nivāṇa. Nivāṇa itself is bliss pure and  
simple there is no pain mixed with it. And I  
give you an explanation of this so there is no  
thing O King as the bliss of royalty which kings  
enjoy.

Most certainly

'And is there no pain O King mingled with  
bliss?

'No Sir

But surely then O King why is it that when  
their frontier provinces have broken out in revolt the  
kings to the end that they may bring the inhabitants  
of those provinces into subjection again, leave their  
homes attended by their ministers and chiefs their

<sup>1</sup> In the Māgandya Sūtra, No. 10, it is said Māgandya says  
where the speech will be found at 1. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Bhūtaṭṭa. See Mr Tencarr's valuable note Hira-  
kumbhā p. 456 quotes the Pal reading Bhūtaṭṭa, and rendering  
it anabhinivṛddhi karanayek.

so diere and the guards and marching over ground even and unwe tormenter the while by gnats and mosquitoes and ot wilds engage in fierce fights and suffer the present rent or death?

Tha venerable Nagasena s not what is called the bliss of sovereignty. It is only the preliminar, stage in the pursuit of that bliss. It is after they have thus in pain sought after sovereignty, that they enjoy the bliss thereof. And this ha bliss, Nagasena is self-arrived with pain for the bliss of sovereignty is one thing and the pain another.

Just so O king. Nirvāṇa all bliss and there s no pain mingled with it. Those who are in quest of Nirvāṇa afflict their minds and bodies it is to restrain themselves: standing walking sitting lying and in so d suppress their sleep keep their senses in subjection abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus in pain sought after Nirvāṇa that they enjoy the Nirvāṇa which is bliss unalloyed—as kings do the bliss of sovereignty after their foes have been put down. Thus is it O king that Nirvāṇa s all bliss and there s no pain mingled with it. For Nirvāṇa is one thing and the pain another.

[315] 60 And hear another explanation O king of the same thing. Is there such a thing O king as the bliss of knowledge which those teachers have who have passed through their course?

‘Yes, Sir there is

Well, is that bliss of knowledge alloyed with pain?

‘No’

What then O king, is the good of their afflicting

themselves by bowing down before and standing up in the presence of their teachers, by drawing water and sweeping out the cell and placing tooth sticks and washing water ready by living upon scraps left over by doing service in shampooing and bathing and washing of the feet by suppressing their own will and acting according to the will of others by sleeping in discomfort and feeding on distasteful food?

That Nagasena is not the bliss of knowledge it is a preliminary stage in the pursuit thereof. It is after the teachers have, in pain sought after knowledge that they enjoy its bliss. Thus saith Nagasena that the bliss of knowledge is unalloyed with pain. For that bliss of knowledge is one thing and the pain another.

Just so O king is Nirvāṇa all bliss and there is no pain mingled with it. Those who are in quest of Nirvāṇa afflict their minds and bodies it is true restrain themselves in standing walking sitting, lying, and in food suppress their sleep keep their senses in subjection abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus in pain sought after Nirvāṇa that they enjoy the Nirvāṇa which is bliss unalloyed—as teachers do the bliss of knowledge. Thus is it O king that Nirvāṇa is all bliss and there is no pain mingled with it. For Nirvāṇa is one thing and the pain another.

Very good Nagasena! That is so and I accept it as you say

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[Here ends the dilemma as to the pain of  
Nirvāṇa]

## [DILEMMA THE EIGHTIETH]

## THE CULTIVATED FORM OF NIRVANA]

61 Venerable Nāgasena this Nirvana that you are always talking of—can you make clear by metaphor or explanation, or reason, or argument the form or figure or duration<sup>1</sup> or measure of it?

316] Nivāsa O king has nothing similar to it. By no metaphor or explanation, or reason or argument can its form or figure or duration or measure be made clear.

'But I cannot believe Nāgasena—that of Nirvana which really, actual is a condition that exists<sup>2</sup>—it should be so impossible in any way to make us understand either the form or figure or duration or measure! Give me some explanation of this.

62 Very well O king I will do so. Is there such a thing O king as the great ocean?

Yes the ocean exists.

'Well suppose some one were to ask you saying 'How much water is there in the vastness in the sea and how many are the creatures that dwell here?' When that question had been put how would you answer him?'

I should reply thus to such a question 'My good fellow' this is an unaskable thing that you ask me. No one ought to ask such a question. It

<sup>1</sup> So the Pāli (v-jam). But the Sinhalese has wāsava (vel) in place thereof throughout 56 and 57.

<sup>2</sup> A tthi dhammassa nibbānassa. The Sinhalese p. 454 translates the form, &c. of the quality (dharma) of Nirvana—as if the Pāli were nibbāna dhammassa. But see next page note 2.

is a point that should be left alone. The physicists<sup>1</sup> have never examined into the ocean in that way. And no one can measure the water there or count the creatures who dwell therein. Thus Sir should I make reply.

63 But why O king would you make such a reply about the ocean which after all is really an existing condition of things. Ought you not rather to count and tell him saying 'So and so much of the water in the sea and so and so many and so many creatures that dwell therein'.

That would be impossible Sir. The questions are beyond one's power.

As impossible as it is O king to tell the measure of the water in the sea or the number or the creatures dwelling therein though after all the sea exists. So impossible is it in any of the ways you suggest to tell the form or figure or duration or measure of Nirvāṇa though after all it is a condition that does exist. [317] And even O king if one of magical powers, master over mind were to be able to count the water and the creatures in the sea, even he could not tell the form or the figure, the duration or the measure of Nirvāṇa.

64 'And hear another explanation of the same thing O king. Are there, O king among the gods certain of them called 'The Formless Ones'?

<sup>1</sup> Lokakāṣṭhīkâ those who five or former days enquired into and described the world says the Sinhalese.

<sup>2</sup> Atthidhammassa aggaṇṇa which Hīnaśī kumburê now renders *ceti svabhawawû*. Pourquoi répons tu ainsi au sujet de l'état naturel du grand océan says the French. (Compare above p 270 of the Pāli.)

<sup>3</sup> Arūpalāyikâ. It is very odd that Hīnaśī kumburê takes the word here and in the answer as a feminine singular and still

Yes Sir I have heard there are such

Well O king can you make clear by metaphor or explanation or reason or argument the form or figure or duration<sup>1</sup> or size of these gods the Formless Ones?

No I cannot

Then O king there are none

The Formless Ones Sir do exist, and yet it is impossible in any of the ways you suggest to explain either their form or figure either their duration or their size

As impossible as it is O king to tell the form or figure the duration or the size of the gods called

Formless Ones though they after all are beings that exist so impossible is it in any of the ways you suggest to explain the form or the figure the duration or the measure of Nirvāṇa though after all it is a condition that does exist

65 Venerable Nagasena I will grant you that Nirvāṇa is bliss unalloyed and yet that is impossible to make clear either by simile or explanation by reason or by argument either its form or its figure either its duration or its size But is there no quality of Nirvāṇa which is inherent also in other

more so that the French translation takes it throughout as a masculine singular But the Sinhalese throughout the sequel treats it properly as a plural nominative and there can be little doubt that the inhabitants or some of the inhabitants, of the Formless Realm the Arūpavāṇara or Arūpa brahma loka, are referred to But this name is different from those given to any of these gods in Childers and I cannot trace it in the Pīṭakas as applied to any of them.

<sup>1</sup> I follow the Pāli which still has *vayaṃ* The Sinhalese has here and below *winasaya*

<sup>2</sup> *Atthisattanaṃ yeva*, which the Sinhalese p 460 represents merely by *ce tāwā*

things<sup>1</sup> and is such that it can be made evident by metaphor<sup>2</sup>?

Though there is nothing as to its form which can be so explained there is something O king as to its qualities which can

[318] O happy word Nāgasena! Speak then quickly that I may have an explanation of even one point in the characteristics of Nirvāṇa. Appease the fever of my heart. Allay it by the cool sweet breezes of your words!

'There is one quality of the lotus O king inhere it in Nirvāṇa and two qualities of water and three of medicine, and four of the ocean and five of food and ten of space, and three of the wish-conferring gem and three of red sandal wood and three of the froth of ghee and five of a mountain peak

66 Venerable Nagasena that one quality of the lotus which you said was inherent in Nirvāṇa — which is that?

As the lotus O king is untarnished by the water<sup>3</sup> so is Nirvāṇa untarnished by any evil dispositions. This is the one quality of the lotus inherent in Nirvāṇa.'

<sup>1</sup> *Aññehi anupavittam* not previously explained by others says Hīnaṁ kumburē. Neither rendering is altogether satisfactory. Perhaps of which you have been convinced by others in agreement with the use of the word above p. 270 of the Pali.

<sup>2</sup> In the French of Mr. de Sylva this sentence runs (p. 342) 'Mais vénérable n'y a-t-il pas une vertu du Nirvāṇa dont on puisse percevoir quelque ressemblance'.

<sup>3</sup> That is no drop of water adheres to the lotus though it is surrounded by water and water may fall on it. For instances of the frequent similes drawn from this fact see below V 14 and Dhammapada 401. Sutta Nipata II 14 17 III 9 32 IV 6 9. The French translation is 'de même que le lotus élève fièrement sa tête au dessus de l'eau' (!).

67 Venerable Nâgasena those two qualities of water which you said were inherent in Nirvana — which are they ?

As water O king, is cool and assuages heat, so also is Nirvana cool and assuages the fever arising from all evil dispositions. This is the first quality of water inherent in Nirvana. And again O king as water allays the thirst of men and beasts when they are exhausted and anxious craving for drink, and tormented by thirst so does Nirvana allay the thirst of the craving after lusts the craving after future life and the craving after worldly prosperity<sup>1</sup>. This is the second quality of water inherent in Nirvana.

68 Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of medicine which you said were inherent in Nirvana — which are they ?

[319] As medicine, O king is the refuge of beings tormented by poison so is Nirvâna the refuge of beings tormented with the poison of evil dispositions. This is the first quality of medicine inherent in Nirvâna. And again O king as medicine puts an end to diseases so does Nirvâna put an end to griefs. This is the second quality of medicine inherent in Nirvana. And again O king as medicine is ambrosia<sup>2</sup>, so also is Nirvana ambrosia. This is the third quality of medicine inherent in Nirvâna.

<sup>1</sup> On these fundamental conceptions see my notes in *Buddhist Sutras* pp 148 149 where it is shown that the three cravings which end in Nirvâna are pretty much the same as the lust of the flesh, theism and materialism.

<sup>2</sup> Amata the translation of which word by 'immortality' has given rise to so much confusion. So the French here says *la médecine à le pouvoir de combattre la mort*, which is nearly as bad. See the Appendix.



69 Venerable Nagasena those four qualities of the ocean which you said were inherent in Nirvāṇa—which are they?’

As the ocean O king is free from (empty of) corpses<sup>1</sup>, so also is Nirvāṇa free from (empty of) the dead bodies of all evil dispositions<sup>2</sup>. This O king is the first quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again, O king as the ocean is mighty and boundless and fills not with all the rivers that flow in to it so is Nirvāṇa mighty and boundless and fills not with all beings (who enter in to it). This is the second quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again O king as the ocean is the abode of mighty creatures so is Nirvāṇa the abode of great men—Arahats in whom the Great Evils and all stains have been destroyed endowed with power masters of themselves. This is the third quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again, O king as the ocean is all in blossom<sup>3</sup> as it were with the innumerable and various and fine flowers of the ripple of its waves so is Nirvāṇa all in blossom as it were with the innumerable and

<sup>1</sup> See on this belief above IV 3 39 (I 259)

The word used here for free empty (*suñña*) has again given rise to the most odd misconceptions. As Nirvāṇa is hence called *Sūrya+ā* emptiness, Christian writers (taking Nirvāṇa as a name for some kind of future life) have very naturally thought in trying to fasten some meaning upon emptiness in a future life that it must mean annihilation of a soul and have labelled Buddhism as Nihilism! The real meaning is really very simple, and entirely ethical (not metaphysical or animistic)

Men may rise on stepping stones

Of their dead selves to higher things

See below IV 8 78 for a metaphor founded on a similar idea

<sup>3</sup> *Saṅkusum* to only found here. Compare ‘garlands vitram

various and fine flowers of purity of knowledge and of emancipation. This is the fourth quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvāṇa.

[320] 70 Venerable Nāgasena those five qualities of food which you said were inherent in Nirvāṇa—which are they?

As food O king is the support of the life of all beings so is Nirvāṇa when it has been realised the support of life for it puts an end to old age and death. This is the first quality of food inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again O king as food increases the strength of all beings so does Nirvāṇa when it has been realised increase the power of Iddhi of all beings. This is the second quality of food inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again, O king as food is the source of the beauty of all beings so is Nirvāṇa when it has been realised the source to all beings of the beauty of holiness. This is the third quality of food inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again O king as food puts a stop to suffering in all beings so does Nirvāṇa when it has been realised put a stop in all beings to the suffering arising from every evil disposition. This is the fourth quality of food inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again O king as food overcomes in all beings the weakness of hunger so does Nirvāṇa when it has been realised, overcome in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and every sort of pain. This is the fifth quality of food inherent in Nirvāṇa.

71 'Venerable Nāgasena those ten qualities of space which you said were inherent in Nirvāṇa—which are they?

'As space, O king neither is born nor grows old neither dies nor passes away nor is reborn (has

a future life to spring up into) as it is incompressible cannot be carried off by thieves rests on nothing is the sphere in which birds fly is unobstructed and is infinite [321] so O king Nirvāṇa is not born neither does it grow old it dies not; it passes not away it has no rebirth (no future life to spring up into), it is unconquerable thieves carry it not off it is not attached to anything<sup>1</sup> it is the sphere in which Arahats move nothing can obstruct it and it is infinite These are the ten qualities of space inherent in Nirvāṇa

72 Venerable Nagasena those three qualities of the wish conferring gem which you said were inherent in Nirvāṇa —which are they?

As the wishing-gem O king satisfies every desire so also does Nirvāṇa This is the first quality of the wishing gem inherent in Nirvāṇa And again O king as the wishing gem causes delight so also does Nirvāṇa This is the second quality of the wishing gem inherent in Nirvāṇa And again O king as the wishing gem is full of lustre so also is Nirvāṇa This is the third quality of the wishing gem inherent in Nirvāṇa

73 Venerable Nāgasena those three qualities of red sandal wood which you said were inherent in Nirvāṇa —which are they?

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<sup>1</sup> Anissitam so below p 351 of the Pali the dhutangam is said to be anissitam The translation is difficult In our passage here H. A. Lumbye (p 464) renders it, as applied both to space and to Nirvāṇa, by having no āsava Below as applied to the vows (dhutangas) he renders it (p 512) by uncorrected with craving (trishnānisrita) Self dependent or untarnished (by reliance on external things) would suit the context in all these passages

As red sandal wood O king is hard to get so is Nirvâna hard to attain to This is the first quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvâna And again O king as red sandal wood is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume so is Nirvâna This is the second quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvâna And again O king as red sandal wood is praised by all the good so is Nirvâna praised by all the Noble Ones This is the third quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvâna

74 [322] 'Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the skimmings of ghee<sup>1</sup> which you said were inherent in Nirvâna—which are they?

As ghee is beautiful in colour O king so also is Nirvâna beautiful in righteousness This is the first quality of the ghee inherent in Nirvâna And again O king as ghee has a pleasant perfume, so also has Nirvâna the pleasant perfume of righteousness This is the second quality of ghee inherent in Nirvâna And again O king as ghee has a pleasant taste so also has Nirvâna This is the third quality of ghee inherent in Nirvâna'

75 Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of a mountain peak which you said were inherent in Nirvâna—which are they?

As a mountain peak is very lofty, so also is Nirvâna very exalted This is the first quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvâna And again O king as a mountain peak is immoveable, so also is Nirvâna This is the second quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvâna And again O king,

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<sup>1</sup> This is butter made of buffalo's milk and is highly esteemed in India.

as a mountain peak is inaccessible, so also is Nirvāṇa inaccessible to all evil dispositions. This is the third quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again O king as a mountain peak is a place where no plants can grow so also is Nirvāṇa a condition in which no evil dispositions can grow. This is the fourth quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again O king as a mountain peak is free alike from desire to please and from resentment so also is Nirvāṇa. This is the fifth quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvāṇa.

[323] Very good Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the problem as to the form of Nirvāṇa]

[DILEMMA THE EIGHTY FIRST  
THE TIME OF NIRVĀṆA]

76 Venerable Nāgasena, your people say<sup>1</sup>

Nirvāṇa is not past nor future, nor present nor produced, nor not produced, nor producible<sup>2</sup>

In that case, Nagasena, does the man who having ordered his life aright realises Nirvāṇa realise something already produced or does he himself produce it first and then realise it?

Neither the one O king nor the other. And nevertheless O king, that principle or Nirvāṇa (nirvāṇa dhatu) which he, so ordering his life aright realises—that exists

<sup>1</sup> Not yet traced in the Pīṭakas

<sup>2</sup> By the action of Karma as a pre-existing cause is to be understood.

Do not venerable Nagasena clear up this puzzle by making it dark<sup>1</sup> Make it open and plain as you elucidate it With a will strenuous in endeavour pour out upon it all that has been taught you It is a point on which this people is bewildered plunged into perplexity lost in doubt Dissipate this guilty uncertainty it pierces like a dart<sup>1 1</sup>

77 That principle of Nirvâna O king so peaceful so blissful so delicate exists And it is that which he who orders his life aright grasping the idea of all things (of the Confections *Samkharas*) according to the teachings of the Conquerors realises by his wisdom—even as a pupil by his knowledge makes himself, according to the instruction of his teacher master of an art

And if you ask How is Nirvâna to be known?<sup>2</sup> it is by freedom from distress and danger by confidence by peace, by calm by bliss by happiness by delicacy, by purity by freshness<sup>3</sup>

78 Just, O king as a man being burnt in a blazing fiery furnace heaped up with many faggots of dry sticks when he has freed himself from it by

<sup>1</sup> *Bhinda etam anto dosa sallam*, 'break and take away the dart of the guilt (dosa) of that doubt which has arisen in my inmost being (satana)' says *Hīnaśī kumburê* It is literally break this dart of guilt within The meaning is clear enough (except as to whether the guilt is the speaker's or this people's) To break a dart in a wound would be no kindness and that cannot have been the author's idea To bring out the meaning one must amplify a little and I should have followed the *Sinhalese* had it not seemed preferable to leave the personality of the guilty one as ambiguous in the translation as in the text

<sup>2</sup> *Hīnaśī kumburê* p 467 does actually put these words into Nagasena's mouth

<sup>3</sup> *Sīlātāto* literally 'of cool' See the note and e on III 6 6 (I 119)

a violent effort and escaped into a cool place, [324] would experience supreme bliss—just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of Nirvâna in which the burning heat of the threefold fire (of lust malice and delusion)<sup>1</sup> has all gone out. As the furnace O king, so should you regard this threefold fire, as the man fallen into the fire the man who is ordering his life aright as the cool place Nirvâna.

79 Or again O king as a man fallen into a pit full of the dead bodies of snakes and dogs and men of ordure and of refuse when, finding himself in the midst of it entangled in the hair of the corpses, he had by a violent effort escaped into a place where no dead bodies were, would experience supreme bliss—just so whosoever orders his life aright he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of Nirvâna from which the corpses of all evil dispositions have been removed. As a corpse O king so should you regard the four pleasures of sense, as the man fallen among corpses the man who is ordering his life aright as the place free from corpses Nirvâna.

80 Or again, O king, as a man (fallen among enemies with drawn swords in their hands)<sup>2</sup> quaking with fear and terror agitated and upset in mind when with a violent effort he has freed himself from them and escaped into a strong refuge, a firm place of security experiences supreme bliss—just so whosoever orders his life aright he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of Nirvâna.

<sup>1</sup> Râga, dosa moha

<sup>2</sup> Compare above IV 8 69 and the note there

<sup>3</sup> The words in brackets are added from the Sinhalese p 467

in which fear and terror have been put away As the terror O king so should you regard the anxiety which arises again and again on account of birth old age disease and death as the terrified man the man who is ordering his life aright as the place of refuge Nirvâna

81 'Or again O king as a man fallen on a spot filthy with dirt, and slime and mud when with a violent effort he has got rid of the mud and escaped to a clean and spotless place, would experience supreme bliss—just so whosoever orders his life aright he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of Nirvâna, from which the stains and mud of evil dispositions have been removed As the mud O king [325] so should you regard income and honour and praise<sup>1</sup> as the man fallen into the mud the man who is ordering his life aright as the clean and spotless place Nirvâna

82 And if again you should ask How does he who orders his life aright realise that Nirvâna? (I should reply), He, O king who orders his life aright grasps the truth as to the development of all things<sup>2</sup> and when he is doing so he perceives therein birth he perceives old age he perceives disease, he perceives death But he perceives not therein either happiness or bliss he perceives not therein whether in the beginning or the middle or the end, any thing worthy of being laid hold of (as lasting satisfaction)<sup>3</sup> As a man O king if a mass of iron

<sup>1</sup> So also at *Gâtaka* IV 222 (verse 48)

<sup>2</sup> *Samkhârânam parattam sammasati* Compare *Dharma pada*, verse 374

<sup>3</sup> *Gayhûpagam* so the Sinhalese



had been heated the livelong day<sup>1</sup> and were all glowing, scorching and red hot would find no spot on it whether at one end or in the middle or at the other end, fit to be taken hold of—just so O king he who orders his life aright grasps the truth of the development of things and in doing so he perceives therein birth he perceives old age he perceives disease he perceives death. But he perceives not therein either happiness or bliss he perceives not therein whether in the beginning or in the middle or in the end anything fit to be taken hold of (as a lasting satisfaction)

83 And discontent arises in his mind when he thus finds nothing fit to be relied on as a lasting satisfaction and a fever takes possession of his body<sup>2</sup>, and without a refuge or protection hopeless he becomes weary of repeated lives<sup>3</sup>. As if a man had fallen into a burning and blazing mighty fiery furnace and saw no refuge from it no way of escape he would hopeless be weary of the fire—just so O king discontent arises in his mind when he thus finds nothing fit to be relied on as a lasting satisfaction and a fever takes possession of his body and without a refuge or protection hopeless he becomes weary of repeated births

84 And in the mind of him who thus perceives

<sup>1</sup> Divasa santatta. So *Hināḍḍumburē* and compare *Magghima Nikaya* I 453 and *Gataka* IV 118 (where the reading is *diva santatta*). See also above p 46 of the Pali

For *ḍaho okkamaṭṭi* *Hināḍḍumburē* may have had a different reading. He renders *ḍahadiya selawenneya* sweat shapes (sic for forms)

<sup>2</sup> Bhavesu, literally of becomings (in any of the three worlds, adds the Sinhalese)

the insecurity of transitory life (of starting afresh in innumerable births)<sup>1</sup> the thought arises 'All on fire is this endless becoming burning, and blazing' Full of pain is it of despair! If only one could reach a state in which there were no becoming, there would there be calm that would be sweet—the cessation of all these conditions<sup>2</sup> the getting rid of all these defects (of lusts of evil and of Karma) the end of cravings, the absence of passion, peace, *Nirvāṇa*! And therewith does his mind leap forward into that state in which there is no becoming and then has he found peace [326] then does he exult and rejoice<sup>3</sup> at the thought 'A refuge have I gained at last! Just O king as a man who venturing into a strange land has lost his way on becoming aware of a path free from jungle that will lead him home bounds forward along it contented in mind exulting and rejoicing at the thought 'I have found the way at last! —just so in him who thus perceives the insecurity of transitory births there arises the thought 'All on fire is this endless becoming burning and blazing' Full of pain is it and despair! If only one could reach a state in which there were no becoming there would there be calm that would be sweet—the cessation of all these conditions the getting rid of all these defects the end of cravings the absence of passion, peace *Nirvāṇa*! And therewith does his mind leap forward into that state in which there is no becoming

<sup>1</sup> Pavatte I have included Hīnaś kumburê's explanation of this word for which there is no equivalent in English

<sup>2</sup> *Samkhara, samkhara uharma, angê* says the Sinhalese

<sup>3</sup> *Upadhi* the Sinhalese (p. 470) has simply *klesayan*

<sup>4</sup> *Pahamsîyati kuhîyati* both words only found here

and then has he found peace then does he exult and rejoice at the thought 'A refuge have I found at last!' And he strives with might and main along that path searches it out accustoms himself thoroughly to it to that end does he make firm his self possession to that end does he hold fast in effort to that end does he remain steadfast in love (toward all beings in all the worlds) and still to that does he direct his mind again and again until gone far beyond the transitory he gains the Real the highest fruit (of Arahatsip)<sup>1</sup> And when he has gained that O king the man who has ordered his life aright has realised, (seen face to face) Nirvāṇa<sup>2</sup>

Very good Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say

[Here ends the problem as to the time  
of Nirvāṇa<sup>3</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Appavattam okkamati Apravṛtti ya yayi kīvaṇa iada Arhat phalajaya pāmīzenneya says Hīraṇi kumburē

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is an excellent example of the difficulty of doing anything like justice in translations to the most instructive and valuable passages in our Buddhist texts. It is in the Pāli full of eloquence and even in the Sinhalese though there too much expanded it is powerful and striking. To a Buddhist it must have been inspiring and touching to the last degree carefully read up to as it is with masterly skill by our author. But it is so full of terms untranslatable into English and with difficulty even comprehensible to minds saturated with Western idea that every translation must be inadequate and any attempt to reproduce the real beauty of its style must be a failure.

<sup>3</sup> How almost impossible it is for a reader with pre-conceived delusions to grasp the plain sense of such passages may be seen from the strange note which the French translator has added at the end of this clear and eloquent description. He says 'La conclusion de ce Jaiaka (sic!) paraît être que le dévot bouddhiste peut

## [DILEMMA THE EIGHTY SECOND

## THE PLACE OF NIRVĀNA]

85 'Venerable Nagasena does there exist the spot—either in the direction of the East or of the South or of the West or of the North either above or below or on the horizon—where Nirvāṇa is stored up<sup>1</sup>?

There is no spot, O king—either in the East or the South or in the West or the North, either above or below, or on the horizon—where Nirvāṇa is

But if so Nāgasena then neither can Nirvāṇa exist and those who realise it their realisation is vain. And I will give you an explanation of this. Just, Sir as there are on the earth fields in which crops can be grown, flowers from which perfumes come bushes on which flowers can grow trees on which fruits can ripen mines from which gems can be dug so that whosoever desires any of these things can go there and get it—just so Nāgasena, it [327] Nirvāṇa exists one must expect there to be some place where it is produced. But since there is not therefore I declare that there can be no Nirvāṇa and those who realise it their realisation is vain.

86 There is no spot O king where Nirvāṇa is

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atteindre Nirvāṇa dans cette vie même. Il est fâcheux que l'auteur ne se soit pas expliqué plus catégoriquement sur cette question intéressante (!)

<sup>1</sup> Sānnihita<sup>2</sup> perhaps is situated. Hīnaṁ lumburē has pihi tiye 'can be got

<sup>2</sup> Ikkh tabbo. See above p. 269 of the Pālī

situate and yet Nirvâna is and he who orders his life right will by careful attention realise Nirvâna Just as fire exists, and yet there is no place where fire (by itself) is stored up But if a man rubs two sticks together the fire comes —just so O king Nirvâna exists though there is no spot where it is stored up And he who orders his life aright will by careful attention, realise Nirvâna

87 Or again O king just as there are the seven treasures of the king of kings—the treasure of the wheel and the treasure of the elephant and the treasure of the horse and the treasure of the gem and the treasure of the woman and the treasure of the finance minister and the treasure of the adviser But there is no spot where these treasures are laid up When a sovran conducts himself aright they appear to him of their own accord<sup>1</sup>—just so, O king Nirvâna exists though there is no place where it is stored up And he who orders his life aright will by careful attention, realise Nirvâna

88 Venerable Nâgasena, let it be granted that there is no place where Nirvâna is stored up But is there any place on which a man may stand and ordering his life aright realise Nirvâna?

‘Yes O king there is such a place

Which then Nâgasena is that place?’

‘Virtue, O king is the place For if grounded in virtue, and careful in attention—whether in the land of the Scythians<sup>2</sup> or the Greeks whether in China or

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<sup>1</sup> This is stated in regard to each of the seven in the standard passage on these seven treasures translated in my ‘Buddhist Suttas pp 251–259

<sup>2</sup> Sakâ Hīnāsī kumburē has sadly blundered over this to him strange word He actually translates it ‘one’s own

Tartary<sup>1</sup> whether in Alexandria<sup>2</sup> or in Nikumba whether in Benares or in Kosala whether in Kashmir or in Gandhara<sup>3</sup> whether on a mountain top<sup>4</sup> or in the highest heavens—wheresoever he may be, the man who orders his life aright will realise Nirvana [328] Just O king as the man who has eyes wherever he may be—in the land of the Scythians or the Greeks in China or in Tartary in Alexandria Nikumba Benares or Kosala in Kashmir or in Gandhara on a mountain top or in the highest heavens—will be able to behold the expanse of heaven and to see the horizon facing him—just so O king will he who orders his conduct aright and is careful in attention—whether in the land of the Scythians or the Greeks whether in China or Tartary whether in Alexandria or Benares, or Kosala, or Nikumba whether in Kashmir or in Gardhâra whether on a mountain top or in the highest heavens—wheresoever he may be, attain to the realisation of Nirvâna'

'Very good Nagasena! You have preached to me of Nirvâna and of the realisation thereof you have set forth the advantages of virtue, you have explained the supreme attainment you have raised aloft the standard of the Truth, you have established the eye of Truth you have shown how right means adopted by those of high aims will be neither

<sup>1</sup> Vilata the Sinhalese has Milata

<sup>2</sup> That is Alexandria on the Indus See the Introduction to the first part, p. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> All these names are discussed, *ibid* pp xlii xlv

<sup>4</sup> Naga muddham Hinari kumburê understands this as the top of Mount Meru Sakka's heaven

<sup>5</sup> Brahma loka

barren nor unfruitful That is so and I accept it as  
you say<sup>1</sup>

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[Here ends the problem of the place of Nirvāṇa]

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[Here ends the Eighth Chapter<sup>2</sup>]

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<sup>1</sup> In these pp 472 473 this last paragraph is much expanded

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese has *Sakala gana mano nandanīawu ne*  
*Sri saddharmā dāsāyehi a/awenī wargaya nīmīyaya*

## BOOK V

## THE PROBLEM OF INFERENCE

[329] 1 Now Mhinda the king went up to the place where Nāgasena was and bowed down before him and took his seat on one side. And when so seated he, longing to know to hear and to remember and longing to make the light of knowledge arise and to break in pieces his ignorance roused up in himself courage and zeal and full of self possession and thoughtfulness spake thus to Nagasena

2 Venerable Nagasena tell me, have you ever seen the Buddha<sup>1</sup>?

No O king

Then have your teachers ever seen the Buddha?

No Sire

So you say venerable Nagasena that you have never seen the Buddha and that your teachers have never seen the Buddha. Therefore Nāgasena, the Buddha did not exist. There is no clear evidence in that case, of a Buddha.

'But did those Kshatriyas of old exist who were the founders of the line of kings from which you come?'

'Certainly Sir. How can there be any doubt about that?'

Well O king. Have you ever seen them?

No Sir

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<sup>1</sup> A similar question has been already asked above III 5 1 (I, 109)



And those who instructed you—the family chaplains and officers of the staff and those who lay down the law and ministers of state—have they ever seen those Kshatriyas of old?

No Sir

If then neither have you seen them nor your teachers where are they? There is no clear evidence in that case of those Kshatriyas of old!

3 But Nāgasena, the royal insignia they used are still to be seen—[330] the white sunshade of state and the crown and the slippers and the fan with the yak's tail and the sword of state and the priceless throne—and by these can we know and believe that the Kshatriyas of old lived once

Just so O king can we know that Blessed One and believe in him. For there is a reason for our knowledge and belief that the Blessed One was. And what is that reason?—The royal insignia used by that Blessed One by him of knowledge and insight, the Arahats the Buddha Supreme, are still to be seen—the four Means of keeping oneself ready and mindful and the fourfold Great Struggle and the four steps to Iddhi and the five Organs of the moral sense and the five moral Powers and the seven forms of the wisdom of the Arahats, and the Noble Eightfold Path<sup>1</sup>—and by these can the whole

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<sup>1</sup> These are the famous thirty five constituent qualities that make up Arahatship (that is, that state of mind which from another point of view and by another of its numerous names is also called Nirvāṇa). They formed the subject of the last discourse delivered by Goama before his death to his disciples (Book of the Great Decease III, 61) and on my translation of that passage (Buddhist Suttas, pp 60-63) I have added a note giving all the details.

It is perhaps worthy of remark that both here and twice else

world of gods and men know and believe that that Blessed One existed once. By this reason on this ground by this argument through this inference can it be known that the Blessed One lived

He who himself set free in that blessed state  
In which the Upadhis have ceased to be  
—Lusts sin and Karma—has brought safe ashore  
Saved from the sea of woe great multitudes—  
Only by inference can it be known  
That he the best of men existed once<sup>1</sup>

4 'Venerable Nagasena give me an illustration  
Just O king as the architect of a city, when he  
wants to build one would first search out a pleasant  
spot of ground with which no fault can be found  
even, with no hills or gullies in it, free from rough  
ground and rocks not open to the danger of attack.  
And then when he has made plain any rough  
places there may still be on it, he would clear it  
thoroughly of all stumps and stakes and would  
proceed to build there a city fine and regular  
measured out into suitable quarters<sup>2</sup> with trenches  
and ramparts thrown up around it<sup>3</sup> with strong  
gateways watch towers and battlements with wide  
squares and open places and junctions (where  
two roads meet) and cross-ways (where four

where at pp 31, 335 (of the Pali) our author reverses the order of No. 4 and 5—the five moral Powers and the five Organs (of the higher sense)—which are really only the same mental qualities looked at from two different points of view

<sup>1</sup> These verses have not been traced as yet in the Pīṭakas

<sup>2</sup> There is another parable of the architect above p 34 of the Pāli (I 53 of the translation)

<sup>3</sup> Bhagaso mitam an explication constantly recurring

<sup>4</sup> Ukkirana. See Gāṭaka IV 106

roads meet)<sup>1</sup> with cleanly and even high roads with regular lines of open shops (bazaars) well provided with parks, and gardens and lakes and lotus ponds and wells adorned with many kinds of temples to the gods free from every fault And then when the city stood there in all its glory he would go away to some other land And in course of time that city might become mighty and prosperous filled with stores of food [331] peaceful glorious happy free from distress and calamity the meeting place of all sorts and conditions of men Then nobles and brahmans merchants and work people soldiers mounted on elephants and on horses and on chariots, infantry and bowmen and swordsmen standard-bearers officers and camp-followers<sup>2</sup> high-born warriors whose delight is in war fighting champions men mighty as elephants heroes men who fight in buckskin<sup>3</sup> devoted fighting men born of slaves in great houses or of the privates in the royal army<sup>4</sup> troops of professional wrestlers<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the dictionaries each of those four words (*kaṭṭhara katukka sandhi* and *singhataḥa*) means either a square or a place where four roads meet The Sinhalese has *āpana katushka sandhi* etc. omitting the last and certainly inexact in its rendering of the first word Sandhi I have only met with here in this sense

<sup>2</sup> *Rāga maggaṃ* literally the king's highways which also only occurs here

<sup>3</sup> For *pinda dāvika Hinaṣi kumburē* (who at p. 475 gives the Pāli of all this) reads *pinda dayakā*

<sup>4</sup> *Vammīno yodhīno* But both *Hinaṣi kumburē* here and the parallel passage in the *Samañña Phala Sutta* (D II 14) read *Kamma yodhīno*

<sup>5</sup> For *Bhaṭṭi puttā Hinaṣi kumburē* reads *Bhaṭṭa puttā*

<sup>6</sup> These two (*Bhaṭṭi puttā* and *Malla gaṇā*) are omitted in the Dīgha.

cooks and curry makers barbers and bathing attendants smiths and florists workers in gold and silver and lead and tin and copper and brass<sup>1</sup> and iron, and jewellers, messengers, potters salt gatherers<sup>2</sup> tanners, carriage builders carvers in ivory<sup>3</sup> rope makers comb makers, cotton thread spinners basket makers, bow manufacturers bow-string makers arrow fletchers painters dye manufacturers dyers weavers tailors assayers of gold<sup>4</sup> cloth merchants<sup>5</sup> dealers in perfumes grass cutters hewers of wood hired servants<sup>6</sup> people who live by gathering flowers and fruits and roots in the woods hawkers of boiled rice sellers of cakes, fishmongers butchers dealers in strong drinks play actors dancers, acrobats<sup>7</sup> conjurors professional bards<sup>8</sup> wrestlers

<sup>1</sup> *Vaṭṭakārā* See the note above on IV, 7 11 (p 267 of the Pāli)

<sup>2</sup> *Lonakārā*, salt makers But *Hīmaṇ kumburē* reads *loha kārā* and translates *lokuruwo* workers in metal

<sup>3</sup> *Dantakārā* which in the Sinhalese is simply repeated There is no such word in Clough.

<sup>4</sup> *Heraṇṇikā* Childers says royal treasurer and *Hīmaṇ kumburē* coners of silver masakas (*raṇ masu tanannoya*), but Subhūti (in his Sinhalese gloss on *Abhidhāna Padīpikā* verse 343) renders it 'judgers of gold (*raṇ balannā*) and that this is right is shown by the context in the passage of the *Sumaṅgala Vāṇī* (p 315) where the probably identical word *heraṇṇika* is used

<sup>5</sup> *Dussika*. *Hīmaṇ kumburē* renders this word here by *pāli welendo* cloth-sellers but above (p 262 of the Pāli) by *sāyam karako* dice manufacturers

<sup>6</sup> It is instructive that men working for hire are put here among the lowest sort of work-people while the slave born in the house stands in the best company

<sup>7</sup> *Langhala*. *Pinuṇṇa kārayo* 'turners of summersets' in the Sinhalese See *Gaṇaka I* 431 and above pp 31 191 of the Pāli

<sup>8</sup> *Vetālika*. *Vetāliyeḥi mangalāśhaka kiyannāwū* in

(boxers) corpse burners casters out of rotten flowers<sup>1</sup> savages<sup>2</sup>, wild men of the woods<sup>3</sup> prostitutes swingers and jumpers<sup>4</sup> and the slave girls of bullies—people of many countries people from Scythia Bactria China and Vilāta people of Uggeni of Bhārukakkha, of Benares of Kosala and of the border lands people from Magadha and Sāketa and Surattḥa, and the West from Koṭumbara and Madhura, from Alexandria, Kashmir, and Gandhāra<sup>5</sup>—all these coming to take up their residence there and finding the new city to be regular, faultless perfect and pleasant would know Able indeed must that architect have been by whom this city was built!

5 'Just so O king, that Blessed One peerless unequalled unapproached incomparable admirable beyond all measure by weight or calculation, of infinite virtue, full of virtue and perfection boundless in wisdom and glory and zeal and power who, when he had attained to the summit of all the perfections

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the Sinhalese (Wandi bhaṭṭa according to Subhūti on Abhidhāna Padīpikā 369)

<sup>1</sup> Pupphaṭṭhadakā. A well-known low caste whose duty it was to remove flowers offered on the shrines of the gods after they had faded At Thera Gāthā verse 620 this is called one of the meanest of occupations

<sup>2</sup> Venā Hīnāsi kumburē has lute makers, but this must be wrong

<sup>3</sup> The Sinhalese says simply Weddahs (Wceddas) the well known interesting wild men of Ceylon

<sup>4</sup> Lasikā, those says the Sinhalese 'who as if intoxicated with joy jump about and leap and dance But I think it is connected with the ancient usages to which the lascivious swinging of the Saivites and Vallabhākyas owes its origin

<sup>5</sup> On all these names see the Introduction to part I pp xh i, xlv Aparāntaka and Pāṭheyyaka might there have been added, as well as puratthimo ganapado (from p 42)

of the Buddhas, [332] overthrew Mara and all his hosts—he bursting asunder the net of heresy and casting aside ignorance and causing wisdom to arise and bearing aloft the torch of Truth reached forward to Buddhahood itself and so, unconquered and unconquerable in the fight, built this city of Righteousness And the Blessed One's City of Righteousness O king has righteousness for its rampart, and fear of sin for its moat, and knowledge for the battlement over its city gate and zeal for the watch tower above that, and faith for the pillars at its base and mindfulness for the watchman at the gate, and wisdom for the terrace above and the Suttantas for its market place and the Abhidhamma for its cross ways and the Vinaya (the Canon Law) for its judgment hall and constant self-possession for its chief street. And in that street O king these bazaars are open—a flower bazaar and a fruit bazaar and an antidote bazaar and a medicine bazaar and an ambrosia bazaar and a bazaar for precious stones, and a bazaar for all manner of merchandise.

6 But what venerable Nāgasena, is the flower bazaar of the Blessed One the Buddha?

'There are certain subjects for meditation O king, that have been made known by the Blessed One by him of knowledge and insight, by the Arahāt the Buddha Supreme And they are these The idea of the impermanence (of every thing and of every being) the idea of the absence of any abiding principle (any soul in any thing or any being) the idea of the impurity and the idea of the danger connected with the body, the idea of getting rid of evil dispositions the idea of freedom from passion, the idea of peace, the idea of dissatisfaction with the

things of the world the idea of the transitory nature of all conditions the idea of ecstatic trance, the ideas of a corpse in the various stages of decay the ideas of a place of execution in all its various horrors the idea of love to all beings the idea of pity for all beings, the idea of sympathy with all beings the idea of equanimity in all the changing circumstances of life the idea of death and the idea of the body<sup>1</sup> These, O king are the subjects for meditation prescribed by the Blessed One And of these whoever, longing to be delivered from old age and death takes any one as the subject of his meditation, by that meditation does he become set free from passion set free from malice set free from dullness, set free from pride, set free from wrong views by that does he cross the ocean of *Samsâra* and stem the torrent of cravings, and cleanse himself of the threefold stain<sup>2</sup>, and destroy within himself all evil and so entering that glorious city spotless and stainless pure and white, [333] ageless and deathless where all is security and calm and bliss—the city of *Nirvana*—he emancipates his mind in *Arahatship*<sup>3</sup> And this O king is what is called “The Blessed One’s bazaar of flowers”

‘Take with you Karma as the price,  
And go ye up to that bazaar  
Buy there an object for your thought,  
Emancipate yourselves Be free<sup>3</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> *Hīnaśī kumburē* devotes a paragraph to each of these subjects for meditation

<sup>2</sup> Of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*

<sup>3</sup> This stanza has not yet been found in the *Prākās*. In the first line it does not seem quite clear at first sight why Karma of all things, should be the price That Indian word being too

7 And what venerable Nāgasena is the perfume bazaar of the Blessed One the Buddha ?

‘There are certain categories of virtue O king that have been made known by the Blessed One and anointed by the perfume of that righteousness the children of the Blessed One fill with the fumes of the fragrant incense of the perfume of goodness the whole world of gods and men, in every direction and to windward and to leeward continuing to pervade it again and yet again And which are those categories ? The virtue of taking refuge<sup>1</sup>

full of meaning to be translateable is necessarily retained and hence the phrase taking Karma as the price may convey no meaning at all If so in trying to escape Scylla the unhappy translator has fallen into Charybdis But it must mean one of two things either something to be abandoned given up or something good which the buyer possesses, and may exchange for the good he wants to buy If our author means the first it must be Karma (as one of the Upadhis) as a basis for continued individuality, and be much the same as egoism If he means the other then Karma though standing alone must be here used in the sense of kusala kamma, good Karma, that is, the effect of good deeds done in a former life Now our author never else where uses kamma without any qualifying adjective in the sense of good Karma On pp 7 20 67 108 foll. 134 151 189 302 of the Pāli the unqualified word means throughout bad Karma the effect of bad deeds done in a former birth In a few passages it is used of former deeds in a way that apparently includes both good and bad. See especially pp. 3 10 146 268 Now a buyer in the case put, could not give up either the bad or the good deeds he had already done in a former life—that would be beyond his power He could only offer in exchange for the good he wanted to buy, good Karma (that is, in the sense of good deeds) either in the present, or in the immediate future Below, V 21 (p 341 of the Pāli), will be found instances given by our author himself It is forced, no doubt to call this ‘a price, but it is probably the sense intended, and so Hīna-kumburē takes it.

<sup>1</sup> Taking the threefold refuge in the Buddha the Doctrine (Dharma), and the Order



the virtue that is fivefold and eightfold and tenfold<sup>1</sup> and the virtue of self restraint tabulated in the five recitations that compose the Pātimokkha<sup>2</sup> And this O king is what is called 'The Blessed One's bazaar of perfumes For it has been said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods

No flower's scent can go against the wind  
Not sandal woods nor musks nor jasmine  
flowers

But the sweet perfume of the good doth go  
Against the wind and the good man pervades  
On every side, the sweetness of his life<sup>3</sup>

Red sandal wood musk and the lotus, and  
jasmine—

The perfume of goodness surpasseth them all  
Abundant the sweet scent of musk and of sandal  
wood—

Still stronger the scent of the good mounts to  
heaven<sup>4</sup>

8 'And what, venerable Nāgasena, is the fruit bazaar of the Blessed One the Buddha?

'Certain fruits have been made known O king by the Blessed One. And they are these —The fruit of the first stage of the Excellent Way (con

<sup>1</sup> These are respectively the first five, the first eight, and the whole ten of the Precepts set out in my Buddhism p 160

<sup>2</sup> The whole of this text is translated in vol. xiii of the Sacred Books of the East The sīlas here enumerated are only the lower morality The higher ethics come below in § 12

<sup>3</sup> From Anguttara Nikāya III 79 The verse is quoted in the Dhammapada verse 54 and also in the Gāṭaka Book III, 291

<sup>4</sup> It is not known where these lines originally stood But they are quoted in the Dhammapada, verses 55, 56 and also in the Gāṭaka Book loc. cit., and in the Sumangala Vilāsinī, p 56

version) and of the second stage, and of the third stage and of the fourth (Arahatship)<sup>1</sup>—the fruit of the attainment of emptiness<sup>2</sup>—the fruit of the attainment of the absence of the three signs (of an unconverted life lust malice and dullness)—and the truth of the attainment of that state in which no low aspirations survive [334] And whosoever desires any one of these he gives his Karma as the price and buys the fruit he longs for—either conversion or any other

9 'Just, O king as any man who has a mango tree bearing fruit all the year round he does not knock down the fruits until buyers come But when a buyer has come, and the fruit grower has taken the price, then he says "Come my good man, this tree is always in bearing (it has therefore fruits in all stages of growth) take from it the kind of fruit you prefer, whether unripe or decayed or hairy<sup>4</sup> or sour or ripe<sup>5</sup> And the buyer for the price paid takes the kind he likes the best—if that be unripe fruit then he takes that if it be decayed fruit then that, if it be hairy fruit then that if it be sour fruit then that if it be ripe fruit then he takes a ripe one Just so O king whosoever desires any one of those other fruits he gives his Karma as the price and buys the fruit he longs for—

<sup>1</sup> The details of these fruits will be found in 'Buddhism pp 108-110

<sup>2</sup> As to in respect of what, see the note above on IV 8 69 (p 219 of the Pāli).

<sup>3</sup> Dovilaṃ, nilata says the Sinhalese p 484

<sup>4</sup> Kesika. Hīnaś kumburē merely repeats this word

<sup>5</sup> The mango is used in all stages—when ripe for eating and for pickles, curries, &c in other stages

either conversion or any other And this O king is what is called The Blessed One's bazaar of fruits

‘ Men give their Karma as the price  
And buy the fruit ambrosia  
And happiness is theirs and peace  
Who've bought the fruit ambrosia<sup>1</sup> ’

10 And what venerable Nāgasena is the antidote bazaar of the Blessed One the Buddha?

Certain drugs O king, have been made known by the Blessed One drugs by which the Blessed One delivers the whole world of gods and men from the poison of evil dispositions And what are these drugs? The four Noble Truths made known by the Blessed One that is to say the truth as to sorrow and the truth as to the origin of sorrow and the truth as to the cessation of sorrow and the truth as to that path which leads to the cessation of sorrow<sup>2</sup> And whosoever longing for the highest insight (the insight of Arahatsip)<sup>3</sup>, hear this doctrine of the four truths they are set quite free from rebirth, [335] they are set quite free from old age they are set quite free from death they are set quite free from grief lamentation pain sorrow and despair And this, O king is what is called The Blessed One's bazaar of antidotes

<sup>1</sup> These lines have not been traced as yet in the *Piṭakas* and are probably not meant as a quotation ‘Ambrosia’ is of course the ambrosia of Arahatsip

<sup>2</sup> For the full text of these Truths see *Buddhist Suttas* pp 148-150

<sup>3</sup> *Aññā*. The *Sinhalese* p 486, has *awabodhaya*. The word is rare but it occurs at *Gāṭaka* I 140 II 333, and at *Dhammapada* verses 57, 96 always in this sense

Of all the drugs in all the world  
 The antidotes of poison dire  
 Not one equals that Doctrine sweet  
 Drink that, O brethren Drink and live <sup>11</sup>

11 And what venerable Nāgasena, is the medicine bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha ?

‘Certain medicines O king have been made known by the Blessed One medicines by which he cures the whole world of gods and men And they are these —“The four Means of keeping oneself ready and mindful and the fourfold Great Struggle and the four Steps to Iddhi and the five Organs of the moral sense and the five moral Powers and the seven Forms of the Wisdom of the Arahats and the Noble Eightfold Path <sup>2</sup> By these medicines the Blessed One purges men of wrong views, purges them of low aspirations purges them of evil speaking purges them of evil deeds purges them of evil modes of livelihood, purges them of wrong endeavours purges them of evil thoughts, purges them of erroneous meditation and he gives emetics to the vomiting up of lusts and of malice and of dullness and of doubt and of self-righteousness, and of sloth of body and inertness of mind and of shamelessness and hardness of heart, and of all evil And this O king is what is called The Blessed One’s bazaar of medicine

“Of all the medicines found in all the world  
 Many in number various in their powers  
 Not one equals this medicine of the Truth  
 Drink that O brethren Drink, and drinking live !

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.

<sup>2</sup> See the note above on V, 3 (p. 330 of the Pāli)

For having drunk that medicine of the Truth  
 Ye shall have past beyond old age and death  
 And—evil lusts and Karma rooted out—  
 Thoughtful and seeing ye shall be at rest<sup>1</sup>!

12 'And what venerable Nâgasena is the ambrosia bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha ?

'An ambrosia, O king has been made known by the Blessed One that ambrosia with which he be sprinkles the whole world of gods and men—as men anoint a king on his coronation day—[336] and men and gods, when sprinkled with that ambrosia are set free from rebirths, old age disease, and death from grief and lamentation and pain, and sorrow and despair And what is that ambrosia ? That meditation which consists in active attention to and leads to a true grasp of the real conditions of corporeal things<sup>2</sup> For it has been said O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

'They, O brethren feed on ambrosia who feed on active attention directed to corporeal things<sup>3</sup> This, O king is what is called "The Blessed One's ambrosia bazaar

<sup>1</sup> Nibbutâ with allusion to the freedom and calm of Nirvâna The verses have not been traced as yet in the Piṭakas

<sup>2</sup> Kâya gatâ-satī bhavanâ where each term really requires a long commentary

<sup>3</sup> It will be noticed that Nâgasena is here really going an inch beyond his text In that text (which has not been traced) amata ambrosia means no doubt as elsewhere, the ambrosia of Nirvâna And the text does not say that the active attention and the ambrosia are the same but only that they who feed on the one feed also on the other Even if we translate are feeding instead of feed (which is grammatically possible) a similar argument would hold good But though it is impossible to say for certain without knowing the context of the passage, the rendering above is more in accord with Pâli usage and more likely therefore to be right.

' He saw mankind afflicted with disease  
 He opened freely his ambrosia shop,  
 Go then O brethren give your Karma for it  
 And buy and feed on that ambrosial food<sup>1</sup>'

13 'And what venerable Nāgasena, is the jewel bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'Certain jewels O king, have been made known by the Blessed One, and adorned with those jewels the children of the Blessed One shine forth in splendour illuminating the whole world of gods and men, brightening it in its heights, in its depths from horizon to horizon, with a brilliant glory And those jewels are these—the jewel of right conduct and the jewel of meditation and the jewel of knowledge and the jewel of emancipation and the jewel of the insight which arises from the assurance of emancipation and the jewel of discrimination and the jewel of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats<sup>2</sup>

14 'And what, O king, is the Blessed One's jewel of right conduct?' The right conduct which follows on self restraint according to the rules of the Pātimokkha, the right conduct which follows on

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet. All these stanzas seem to belong together and will doubtless be found in the same Sutta or poem.

<sup>2</sup> These seven jewels (or treasures *ratanāni*) of the Buddha are intended of course to correspond to the seven treasures (also *ratanāni*) of the king of kings (the *kakkavatti*). They are different from the seven Treasures of the Noble Ones (*Āriya dhanāni*) which are ethical qualities whereas these jewels are means to the attainment of Arahatsip.

<sup>3</sup> *Sīla*, a most difficult word to translate, as it includes so much that in English would be expressed by the varying phrases good ness, virtue, righteousness, uprightness, morality &c

restraint of the bodily organs and the mind<sup>1</sup> the right conduct which results from a pure means of livelihood, the right conduct in relation to the four requisites of a recluse<sup>2</sup> the right conduct presented in the Short, and Middle and Long Summonses<sup>3</sup> the right conduct of those who are walking in the Path, and the right conduct of those who have attained each of the various fruits thereof (beginning at conversion and ending at Arahatship)<sup>4</sup> And all the beings in the world O king gods<sup>5</sup> and men and the Mâras too (the spirits of evil) and the Brahmas (the very highest of the gods), and Samanas and Brahmans are filled with longing and desire for a man who wears as his ornament, this jewel of right conduct And the Bhikkhu O king who puts it on shines forth in glory all around upwards and downwards and from side to side, surpassing in lustre all the jewels to be found from the Waveless Deep<sup>6</sup> below to the highest heavens above excelling them all overwhelming them all Such O king are the jewels of right conduct set out for sale in the Blessed One's bazaar of gems And this is what is called The Blessed One's jewel of righteousness

<sup>1</sup> Indriya no doubt here the six organs that is the usual five and bhavango or mano as the sixth.

<sup>2</sup> Clothing, food lodging and medicine for the sick.

<sup>3</sup> Translated in Buddhist Suttas pp 189-200

<sup>4</sup> What we have here are the two higher stages of the three into which Buddhist ethics naturally falls The morality of laymen has been included above V 7 where it already passes over into that of the ordinary unconverted member of the Order Here we begin with that starting with the last item of the previous list and go on through the sîlas, to the highest ethics of Arahatship

<sup>5</sup> The devas, those gods dwelling in Sakka's heaven, and I think the devatâs also (fairies, nyads, dryads &c)

<sup>6</sup> Avîçi the lowest of the purgatories

'Such are the virtues sold in that bazaar,  
The shop of the Enlightened One, the Blest,  
Pay Karma as the price, O ye ill-clad!  
Buy, and put on, these lustrous Buddha gems!

[337] 15 And what, O king is the Blessed One's jewel of meditation? The meditation that consists of specific conceptions and of investigation regarding them<sup>1</sup>,—the meditation that consists of reflection only, specific conceptions being lost sight of<sup>2</sup>—the meditation that continues after specific conceptions and reflection on them have both ceased<sup>3</sup>—the meditation that is void (of lusts evil dispositions, and Karma)—the meditation from which three signs (of an unconverted life—lust malice, and dullness) are absent—the meditation in which no low aspirations remain<sup>4</sup>. And when a Bhikkhu, O king has put on this jewel of meditation (Samâdhi) then ideas of lust, and ideas of anger and ideas of cruelty and all the various bad thoughts that have their basis in the evil dispositions of pride self-righteousness, adhesion to wrong views and doubt—all these, since they come into contact with meditation, flow off from him disperse, and are dispelled they stay not with him adhere not to him. Just O king, as when water has fallen on a lotus leaf it flows off from it is dispersed and scattered

<sup>1</sup> I think the first *Ghâna* (see Buddhist Suttas p 272) is meant

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the passage over from the first to the second *Ghâna*.

<sup>3</sup> But insight, and the resulting bliss, remain. Compare above II 2 3 (I 67)

<sup>4</sup> Compare above V 8, on the last three



away, stays not on it adheres not to it<sup>1</sup>—so when a Bhikkhu has put on this jewel of meditation then ideas of lust, and ideas of anger, and ideas of cruelty, and all the various bad thoughts that have their basis in the evil dispositions of pride self righteousness obstinacy in wrong views and doubt—these all as soon as they come in contact with meditation, flow off disperse, and are dispelled, stay not with him, adhere not to him And why not? Because of the exceeding purity of the habit of meditation This O king, is what is called The Blessed One's jewel of meditation and such are the jewels of meditation set out for sale in the Blessed One's bazaar of gems

Bad thoughts can ne'er arise beneath the brow  
 Encircled by this coronet of gems  
 It charms away perplexed and wandering thought  
 Make it your own, buy it, put on the crown!

16 'And what O king is the Blessed One's jewel of knowledge? That knowledge by which the disciple of the noble ones knows thoroughly what is virtue and what is not what is blame worthy and what is not what should be made a habit of, and what should not what is mean, and what is exalted [338] what is dark and what is light and what is both dark and light—the knowledge by which he truly knows what sorrow is and what the origin of sorrow is and what the cessation of sorrow is and what is the path that leads thereto This O king is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of knowledge"

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<sup>1</sup> See the note upon IV 8 65

He who has knowledge as his jewelled wreath  
Will not continue long in outward form<sup>1</sup>  
Soon will he reach Nirvâṇa in rebirth  
In any world<sup>2</sup> no longer take delight<sup>1</sup>

17 'And what O king is the Blessed One's jewel of emancipation? Arahatsip is called the jewel of emancipation and the Bhikkhu who has reached Arahatsip is said to have decked himself with the jewel of emancipation. And just as a man O king who is decorated with ornaments made of strings of pearls of diamonds and gold and corals whose limbs are anointed with akalu<sup>3</sup> and with frank incense<sup>4</sup> and with Talis<sup>5</sup> and with red sandal wood who is adorned with a garland of Iron wood blossoms, and Rottleria flowers, and flowers from the Sal tree and the Sala<sup>6</sup> and the champak and yellow jasmynes<sup>7</sup> and Atimuttaka flowers<sup>8</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Bhavo here equal to paṇḍita śāndha according to Hīnaś kumburē p 491

<sup>2</sup> Bhava here tri vidhā bhava in the Sinhalese

<sup>3</sup> Akalu only found here. The Sinhalese has agarū kalu and agarū according to Clough is Dalbergia

<sup>4</sup> Tagara Agil tuwaralā, logwood frankincense

<sup>5</sup> Talisaka. Clough says the Talis tree is Flacourtia cataphracta.

<sup>6</sup> Not in the Pali dictionaries. But it is mentioned in Buddha vamsa II, 51 (there spelt salala). This verse is quoted at Gāṭaka I, 13 verse 51 and the word is there spelt salaḥ. The Sinhalese has salala and the Sanskrit lexicons have sarala. Clough identifies it, no doubt wrongly with the last the Anglo-Indian Hal tree which the botanists call the Shorea robusta.

<sup>7</sup> Yūthikā śīṇidda says Hīnaś kumburē p 492 and Clough thinks this is oleander. But Böhtlingk Roth say a sort of jasmine Jasminum auriculatum.

<sup>8</sup> Yohombu in the Sinhalese. Clough says this is a creeper called Borago Zeylanica. But does that grow in the North West of India? According to Böhtlingk Roth, Atimuttaka is the

trumpet flowers and lotuses and white and Arabian jasmines<sup>1</sup>—just as with all this finery of garlands and perfumes and jewelry he would outshine all other men overwhelming them with brilliant glory and splendour—just so O king does he who has attained to Arahatsip he in whom the Great Evils (lusts and becoming, delusion, and ignorance) are rooted out, he who has put on the diadem of emancipation of heart, just so does he outshine all other Bhikkhus from the lowest in attainment up to those even who are themselves emancipated, overwhelming them in brilliant glory and splendour And why is that so? Because O king there is one diadem that is the chief of all, and that is this diadem of emancipation of heart<sup>1</sup> And this O king is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of emancipation"

All the people that dwell in a house look up  
To their Lord when he wears his crown of gems—  
The wide world of the gods and of men looks up  
To the wearer of Freedom's diadem<sup>1</sup>

18 And what O king is the Blessed One's jewel of the insight that follows on the assurance of emancipation? The knowledge arising out of looking back over the course<sup>2</sup>—that knowledge by

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name of three plants, one of which is the *Gaertnera Racemosa* much cultivated for the beauty and perfume of its flowers

<sup>1</sup> The last four are the Pāli Uppala, Vassika and Mallikā all of which are well known Our author's flora and fauna are so numerous that one ought if one had the necessary knowledge to be able to draw conclusions as to his own habitat

<sup>2</sup> On the use of upāday upādāya see above p. 182 and below p. 341 of the Pāli

<sup>3</sup> Paṭṭavekkhana ñānam That is, in looking back over the

which the disciple who is walking along the Excellent Way passes from time to time, both the Way itself and the Fruits thereof up to Nirvâna in review and is aware what evil dispositions he has got rid of and what evil dispositions remain to be conquered—that is what [339] is called 'The jewel of the assurance that follows on the knowledge of emancipation

"The knowledge by which the Noble Ones know  
The stages they've passed and the road yet  
untrod;—

Strive O ye sons of the Conqueror, strive  
That jewel—Assurance—yourselves to obtain!

19 And what, O king is the Blessed One's jewel of discrimination? The discrimination of the sense of and the discrimination of the deeper truths underlying the sense of the sacred writ, and the discrimination of philological peculiarities and the discrimination of correct and ready exposition<sup>1</sup> And the Bhikkhu O king, who is adorned with these four jewels of discrimination, whatsoever company he enters into, whether of nobles or brahmans, or merchants, or workpeople enters it in confidence neither put out nor shy undaunted and undismayed, he enters the assembly without excitement or fear Just, O king, as a warrior, a hero in the fight when accoutred in all his harness

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course he has followed along the Excellent Way he becomes conscious of having got beyond each of the obstacles (the *Sam yoganâs*) that can beset him. It is the doctrine of 'final assurance from the Buddhist point of view Compare *âñadassana* at *Digha* II, 83

<sup>1</sup> *Pañisambh dâ* *Hīnaś-kumburē* merely repeats the ambiguous technical terms of the Pāli. Childers, *sub voce*, gives the various interpretations of other authorities. Compare above, I 29, 34, 36 The third and fourth seem to me to be doubtful

of war<sup>1</sup>, goes down undismayed to the battle, in the confident thought If the enemy should remain afar off I can knock them down with my arrows should they come thence towards me I can hit them with my javelins should they come yet nearer I can reach them with my spear should they come right up I can cleave them in two with my sabre<sup>2</sup>, should they come to close quarters I can pierce them through and through with my dagger<sup>3</sup>—just so O king does the Bhikkhu when he wears the fourfold jewel of discernment enter any assembly undismayed in the confident thought Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of the sense I shall be able to explain it comparing sense with sense explanation with explanation, reason with reason, argument with argument<sup>4</sup>—and thus shall I resolve his doubts

<sup>1</sup> *Pañkāvudho* literally 'with the five weapons on The expression is not infrequent, compare *pañkāvudha sannaddha*, used of a hunter at *Gataka* III 467 IV 283 437 and *sannaddha pañkāvudhā*, used of sailors fighting at *Gataka* IV 160 But it is quite possible that weapons different from those here described are there meant as they are not suited for instance, to the hunter

<sup>2</sup> *Hīnaśi kumburē* translates this weapon (*maṇḍalagga*) simply by *kaḍuwa* sword but 'bent blade must mean a sabre

<sup>3</sup> *Khurikā*. Childers has only knife The *Sinhalese*, p 493 has *kirisaya*, which is not in Clough, but is doubtless the Malay *kreese* These five weapons are not mentioned elsewhere, and as three of the five words are rare are probably those in special use in the country where our author lived In this respect it is noteworthy that the Sanskrit *kshurikā* is only mentioned, according to Böhtlingk Roth, in the *Rāga Taranginī* of Kashmir and in the title of a late Upanishad We shall therefore scarcely go far wrong if we understand by our authors *kshurikā* the famous Afghan knife.

<sup>4</sup> *Arthayen arthaya gaḷapā* &c. says the *Sinhalese* He

dispel his perplexity and delight him by my exposition of the problem raised Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on discrimination of the deeper truths, I shall be able to explain it by comparing truth with truth and the various aspects and phases of Arahatsip each with each<sup>1</sup>, [340]—and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity, to delight him with my exposition of the problem raised Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of philological peculiarities I shall be able to explain it by comparing derivation with derivation<sup>2</sup> and word with word and particle with particle and letter with letter and one modification of a letter by contact (sandhi) with another and consonant with consonant and vowel with vowel and accent (intonation) with accent and quantity with quantity, and rule with rule, and idiom with idiom,—and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity to delight him with my exposition of the problem raised Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of expositions, I shall be able to explain it by comparing metaphor with metaphor and characteristic with characteristic<sup>3</sup> and sentiment with sentiment—and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity to delight him with my exposition of the

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will reply by adducing parallel passages, much in the style of modern scholarship.

<sup>1</sup> He gives the principal ones, as set out in his previous arguments.

<sup>2</sup> Nirutti Hīnaś-kumburē unfortunately simply repeats all these technical terms.

<sup>3</sup> Lakkhaṇa As for instance above, I, 51-62

problem raised And this, O king, is what is called  
The Blessed One's jewel of discrimination

First buy the jewel of discrimination,

Then cut<sup>1</sup> it with your knowledge and your  
skill,

So free from all anxiety and fear,

Shall you illuminate both earth and heaven !

20 'And what, O king is the Blessed One's  
jewel of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats ? It  
is self possession and investigation of the system of  
doctrine, and zeal, and joy, and tranquillity, and  
contemplation and equanimity<sup>2</sup> And the Bhikkhu,  
O king, who is adorned with this sevenfold jewel of  
the divisions of the higher wisdom<sup>3</sup> shines forth  
over the whole world of gods and men, brightens  
it illuminates it, and dispersing the darkness makes  
the light arise This, O king is what is called  
'The Blessed One's jewel of the sevenfold wisdom.'

"The gods and men in reverence stand up

To him who wears this wisdom diadem

Show your good actions then,—that is the price —

And buy, and wear this wisdom-diadem !' "

[341] 21 'And what, venerable Nāgasena, is the  
bazaar for all manner of merchandise set up by the  
Blessed One the Buddha ?

The Blessed One's bazaar for all manner of

<sup>1</sup> Phaseyya, literally 'he who having bought paṭisambhida shall touch it with his ñāṇa The Sinhalese p. 494, has sparra kōṭa which does not help us.

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese again only repeats these seven technical terms, except the second Dhamma viṭaya which it renders by pragṇā.

<sup>3</sup> Bodhi Childers says 'the supreme knowledge of a Buddha. But this is wrong, as is evident even from the context here. The whole exposition is of Arahatsip, not Buddhahood.

merchandise, O king is the ninefold word of the Buddha and the relics remaining of his body and of the things he used and the sacred mounds (*Ketiyaṇi*, *Dāgabas*) erected over them<sup>1</sup>, and the jewel of his Order. And in that bazaar there are set out by the Blessed One the attainment (in a future birth) of high lineage and of wealth and of long life, and of good health, and of beauty and of wisdom and of worldly glory and of heavenly glory, and of *Nirvāṇa*. And of these all they who desire either the one or the other, give Karma as the price, and so buy whichever glory they desire. And some buy with it a vow of right conduct and some by observance of the *Uposatha* day and so on down to the smallest Karma-price they buy the various glories from the greatest to the least. Just, O king, as in a trader's shop, oil seed and peas and beans can be either taken in barter for a small quantity of rice or peas or beans or bought for a small price decreasing in order according to requirement—just so O king in the Blessed One's bazaar for all manner of merchandise advantages are to be bought for Karma according to requirement. And this O king is what is called 'The Blessed One's bazaar of all manner of merchandise

' Long life, good health beauty rebirth in heaven,  
High birth *Nirvāṇa*—all are found for sale—  
There to be bought for Karma, great or small—  
In the great Conqueror's world-famed bazaar  
Come, show your faith O brethren as the price,  
Buy and enjoy such goods as you prefer<sup>2</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> *Hīmañ-kumburê*, characteristically enough for a Ceylon man adds, 'and the Footprint and the Bo-tree.

<sup>2</sup> The first line only of these verses is in the *Samyutta* III, 2, 7



22 And the inhabitants that dwell in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness O king are such as these Masters in the Suttantas, and masters in the Vinaya and masters in the Abhidhamma, preachers of the faith repeaters of the Gātakas and repeaters of the Dīgha and repeaters of the Magghima [342] and repeaters of the Samyutta, and repeaters of the Anguttara, and repeaters of the Khuddaka Nikāya, —men endowed with right conduct men accomplished in meditation men full of knowledge, men taking delight in contemplation of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats men of insight<sup>1</sup>, —men who frequent the woods for meditation, or sit at the roots of trees, or dwell in the open air, or sleep on heaps of straw or live near cemeteries or lie not down to sleep —men who have entered the Excellent Way<sup>2</sup>, men who have attained one or more of the four fruits thereof men who are still learners (have not yet reached Arahatship but are close upon it), men enjoying the Fruits that is either Sotāpannas, or Sakadāgāmins, or Anāgāmins, or Arahats —men of the threefold wisdom<sup>3</sup>, men of the sixfold transcendental wisdom<sup>4</sup>, men of the power of Iddhi, men who have reached perfection in knowledge, men

<sup>1</sup> Vipassakā not necessarily the insight of the Arahats as Childers says We have seen Vipassanā ascribed above p 16 (of the Pāli) to a Sotāpanno

<sup>2</sup> Paṭipannakā, so the Sinhalese p 496 (but see otherwise below, V, 21 p 344 of the Pāli)

<sup>3</sup> Teviggā having the pubbe nivāsānussati ñāna, the ketopariya ñāna and the āsavānaṃ khaya-ñāna See Dīgha Nikāya II, 91-94 and 97

<sup>4</sup> These are the last three and besides them the so-called Divine Eye and Divine Ear, and also the power of Iddhi See Dīgha Nikāya II 87-90, 95-96

skilled in the maintenance of constant self-possession in the Great Struggle in the Steps to Iddhi in the Organs of their moral sense in the sevenfold wisdom in the Excellent Way in *Ghāna* in *Vimokkha* and in the attainment of the exalted and tranquil bliss that is independent of form or the absence of form—yea! like a forest full of bamboos full of reeds that City of Righteousness has been ever crowded and frequented by such Arahats as these! For it is said<sup>1</sup>

(1) Men devoid of passion, and of malice and of dullness men in whom the Great Evils (lust becoming delusion and ignorance) are not men who have neither craving thirst nor grasping desires—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(2) "Men whose home is the forest, men who have taken on themselves the extra vows men full of joy, men who are wearing rough garments men rejoicing in solitude heroes—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(3) "Men who sleep sitting or on any sleeping-place that comes or spend their time standing or walking up and down in meditation men who clad themselves in cast-off raiment—all these dwell in the City of Righteousness

(4) 'Men wearing the full set of three robes tranquil, with a skin for the fourth, who rejoice in taking but one meal each day the wise—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(5) 'The earnest and prudent, heroes who feed on little and know no greed, content whether they receive an alms or receive it not—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

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<sup>1</sup> It is not known in what text.

(6) 'The meditative, delighting in *Ghâna*, heroes of tranquil minds and steadfast, looking forward to Nirvana—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(7) Men walking in the path, and standing in the fruits thereof those who have attained some fruits thereof but are yet learners as to the last whose hope is directed to the utmost goal—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(8) 'Those who have entered the stream and those who free from stains will only be reborn once more on earth, those who will never return again, and Arahats—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(9) 'Those skilled in the means of attaining undisturbed self-possession and rejoicing in contemplation on the sevenfold wisdom those who are full of insight, and bear the words of the Dharma in their hearts—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

[343] (10) Those skilled in the Steps to Iddhi, and rejoicing in the meditations of Samâdhi those who are devoted to the Great Struggle—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(11) "Those perfect in the sixfold wisdom of the *Abhiññâs* delighting in the sphere that is theirs by rightful inheritance<sup>1</sup>, those having the power of flying through the air—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(12) Those of downcast eyes, and measured speech the doors of whose senses are guarded, who

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<sup>1</sup> *Pettike goḥare ratā* That is in the four *Sati paññânas*. See the passage quoted below at VII, 1 7, p 368 of the Pâli

are self-restrained, who are well trained according to the supreme Dhamma—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness

(13) ' Those of the threefold wisdom, and of the sixfold wisdom those who have become perfect in Iddhi and perfect in knowledge—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness "

23 ' And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who carry in their hearts the words of the excellent knowledge that is immeasurable who are free from bonds, whose goodness and fame and power and glory no man can weigh, who (in imitation of their Master)<sup>1</sup> keep the royal chariot wheel of the kingdom of righteousness rolling on, who have reached perfection in knowledge—such Bhikkhus are called O king, The Commanders of the Faith in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness

And furthermore, O king those of the Bhikkhus who have the power of Iddhi, who have learned the discriminations<sup>2</sup> who are full of confidence, who travel through the air who are hard to oppose hard to overcome who can move without support, who can shake the broad earth and the waters on which it rests, who can touch the sun and the moon who are skilful in transforming themselves and in making steadfast resolutions and high aspirations who are perfect in Iddhi—such Bhikkhus are called O king

The royal chaplains in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness.'

And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who have taken upon themselves the extra vows

<sup>1</sup> Anuppavattakâ. See below, p. 363 of the Pâli.

<sup>2</sup> See above V 19

who desire little and are content who would loathe any breach of the regulations as to the manner of seeking an alms<sup>1</sup> and beg straight on from hut to hut as a bee smells flower after flower<sup>2</sup>, and then go away into the loneliness of the woods, those who are indifferent as to their body and as to life those who have attained to Arahatsip those who place the highest value on the virtues of the practice of the extra vows—such Bhikkhus are called, O king The judges in the Blessed Ones City of Righteousness

And furthermore O king those of the Bhikkhus who are pure and stainless, in whom no evil dispositions are left who, skilful in the knowledge of the fall and rise of beings<sup>3</sup> have perfected themselves in the Divine Eye—such Bhikkhus are called O king 'The givers of light<sup>4</sup> in the Blessed Ones City of Righteousness

'And furthermore O king those of the Bhikkhus [344] who are learned in the traditions, who hand on what has been handed down, the repeaters of the Discourses and of the Canon Law and of the tables of contents those who are skilled in the exact determination of letters into surds and sonants into

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<sup>1</sup> Importunity or even attracting attention in any way See above p 229 of the Pālī.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Sigalovāda Sutta, p 365 and Dhammapada verse 49 As a bee injuring not the flower or its colour or its scent flies away, taking the nectar, so let a sage go through the village

<sup>3</sup> That is the fall of beings from one state of existence—their death in that state in other words—and their rise their rebirth, in another

<sup>4</sup> Gotaka, as a city official is something akin to torchbearer lamphgter

longs and short as to lightness and heaviness<sup>1</sup>, those who know by heart the ninefold word—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “The peace officers<sup>2</sup> in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness

‘And furthermore O king those of the Bhikkhus who are learned in the Vinaya (Rules of the Order, Canon Law), wise in the Vinaya, skilled in detecting the source of offences<sup>3</sup> skilled in deciding whether any act is an offence or not, whether an offence is grievous or slight whether it can be atoned for or not, skilled in deciding questions as to the rise, the acknowledgment, the absolution, or the confession of an offence<sup>4</sup> as to the suspension or the restoration, or the defence of an offender<sup>5</sup>, who are perfect masters in the Vinaya—such Bhikkhus are called O king, “The Rûpa dakshas<sup>6</sup> in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness

And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who wear on their brows the lotus garland of that noble Emancipation, who have attained to that

<sup>1</sup> These are six out of the ten divisions of *Vyañjana vuddhi* mentioned in the verse at *Sumangala Vilâsini* I, 177 *Hīnaśīl kumburē* p 501 merely repeats the words

<sup>2</sup> *Dhamma rakkhā, dharmikawū āraksha grahaṇayehi niyuktawū* in the *Sinhalese*

<sup>3</sup> *Nidāna paḥāna kusalā ‘Āpatti geṇa hoera doekwī mehi dakshawū* says the *Sinhalese*

<sup>4</sup> One word *vaṭṭhāna*, is here doubtful

<sup>5</sup> See *Mahāvagga* IX, 4 9 10 &c

<sup>6</sup> Literally skilled in form shape, beauty The *Sinhalese* repeats this ambiguous expression adding the qualification *amātyayo*, ministers, officials. One would think that these would have been the judges, but our author has already made the *Arahats* the judges in his *Dhamma nagara*. This only leaves him some minor official post to give away to those learned in Canon Law and he has chosen one as an *intelligible* in Ceylon as it is to me.

highest and best and most exceeding excellent of all conditions who are loved and longed for by the great multitudes—such Bhikkhus are called O king Flower-sellers in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness

'And furthermore O king those of the Bhikkhus who have penetrated to the comprehension of the four Truths and have seen them with their eyes who are wise in the teaching who have passed beyond doubt as to the four fruits of Samāśhip who having attained to the bliss thereof, share those fruits with others who have entered the paths<sup>1</sup>—such Bhikkhus are called O king, "Fruit dealers in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness"

'And furthermore O king those of the Bhikkhus who being anointed with that most excellent perfume of right conduct are gifted with many and various virtues and are able to dispel the bad odour of sin and evil dispositions—such Bhikkhus are called O king "Perfume dealers in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness"

And furthermore, O king those of the Bhikkhus whose delight is in the Dhamma and whose converse is pleasant, who find exceeding joy in the higher subtleties of the Dharma and the Vinaya<sup>2</sup> who either in the forest, or at the foot of trees, or in empty

<sup>1</sup> Paṭipannā which Hīnaś kumburē takes here to mean Arahats, but see the note above V 20 (p 341 of the Pāl.)

<sup>2</sup> Abhidhamme abhivināye A phrase very instructive as to the correct rendering of the much misunderstood word abhidhamma. As I pointed out already in the 'Hibbert Lectures for 1881, it is a blunder to translate it as is usually done by metaphysics. The whole context is taken from the Saṅgīti Sutta.

places drink the sweet sap of the Dharma, who plunging themselves as it were, in body speech and mind into the sweet juice<sup>1</sup> of the Dharma excel in expounding it, in seeking and in detecting the deeper truths in the various doctrines who—wheresoever and whensoever the discourse is of wishing for little, of contentment, of solitude of retirement of the exertion in zeal of right conduct, of meditation of knowledge, of emancipation of the insight arising from the assurance of emancipation—[345] thither do they repair, and drink in the sweet savour of that discourse—such Bhikkhus are called O king, “Thirsty and drunkards in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness

‘And furthermore O king those of the Bhikkhus who are addicted to the habit of wakefulness from the first watch of the night to the last, who spend day and night in sitting standing, or walking up and down in meditation who addicted to the habit of contemplation are devoted to their own advancement by the suppressing of evil dispositions—such Bhikkhus are called O king ‘Watchmen in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness’

‘And furthermore O king those of the Bhikkhus who in the spirit and in the letter, in its arguments and explanations, in its reasons and examples teach and repeat utter forth and recapitulate the ninefold word of the Buddha—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, Lawyers (dealers in Dharma) in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.

<sup>1</sup> ‘The ambrosia of the Saddharma, says Hīnaśi kumburē p. 502

<sup>2</sup> Dharmaspharakā. The Sinhalese has Dhārmikāpārīkayo.



‘And furthermore O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are wealthy and rich in the wealth of the treasures of the Doctrine in the wealth of the traditions and the text and the learning thereof who comprehend the signs, and vowels and consonants thereof in all their details pervading all directions with their knowledge — such Bhikkhus are called O king, Bankers of the Dhamma<sup>1</sup> in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness’

And furthermore O king those of the Bhikkhus who have penetrated to the sublimer teaching who understand exposition and the divisions of objects of meditation to be practised who are perfect in all the subtler points of training<sup>2</sup>—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, Distinguished masters of law in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness’

24. Thus well planned out, O king, is the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness thus well built thus well appointed thus well provisioned thus well established thus well guarded, thus well protected, thus impregnable by enemies or foes And by this explanation, O king by this argument by this reason you may by inference know that the Blessed One did once exist.

(1) ‘As when they see a pleasant city, well planned out,

Men know by inference, how great the founder was

So when they see our Lord’s City of Righteousness

They know, by inference that he did once exist

<sup>1</sup> Dhamma seṭṭhino which the Sinhalese repeats.

<sup>2</sup> Adhisīla, adhiṭṭita, and adhipaṇṇā, says Hīnaśīlumburē

- [346] (2) "As men seeing its waves can judge, by inference,  
The great extent and power of the world embracing sea  
So may they judge the Buddha when they see the waves  
That he set rolling through the world of gods and men—  
He who, unconquered in the fight, allays all griefs  
Who rooted out, in his own heart, Craving's dread power  
And set his followers free from the whirlpool of rebirths—  
' Far as the waves of the Good-Law extend and roll  
So great, so mighty, must our Lord the Buddha, be.
- (3) "As men, seeing its mighty peaks that tower aloft,  
Can judge by inference Himālaya's wondrous height,  
So when they see the Buddha's Mount of Righteousness—  
Stedfast, unshaken by fierce passion's stormy blasts,  
Towering aloft in wondrous heights of calm and peace,  
Where lusts evil and Karma cannot breathe or live,—  
They draw the inference Great as this mountain high  
That mighty Hero's power upon whose word it stands.

- (4) As men seeing the footprint of an elephant  
king  
Can judge, by inference How great his size  
must be<sup>1</sup>  
So when they see the footprint of the elephant  
of men  
Buddha the wise, upon the path that men have  
trod  
They know by inference How glorious  
Buddha was<sup>1</sup>
- (5) As when they see all living things crouching in  
fear,  
Men know 'Tis the roar of the king of the  
beasts that frightens them  
So seeing other teachers break and fly in  
fear,  
They know 'Tis a king of the truth hath  
uttered words sublime<sup>1</sup>
- (6) ' Seeing the earth smiling well watered green  
with grass  
Men say 'A great and pleasant rain hath  
fallen fast.  
So when they see this multitude rejoicing  
peaceful blest,  
Men may infer 'How sweet the rain that  
stilled their hearts!
- (7) ' Seeing the wide earth soaked, boggy, a marsh  
of mud,  
Men say Mighty the mass of waters broken  
loose

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<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps such poetical figures as this that have afforded foundation for the legend of Buddha's footprint.

So, when they see this mighty host that once  
 were dazed  
 With the mud of sin swept down in Dhamma's  
 stream, and left  
 In the wide sea of the Good Law some here,  
 some there  
 All gods and men alike, plunged in ambrosial  
 waves  
 They may infer and say 'How great that  
 Dhamma is!

- (8) [347] 'As when men travelling feel a glorious  
 perfume sweet  
 Pervading all the country side, and gladdening  
 them infer at once  
 'Surely 'tis giant forest trees are flowering  
 now!  
 So conscious of this perfume sweet of righteous-  
 ness  
 That now pervades the earth and heavens  
 they may infer  
 'A Buddha infinitely great, must once have  
 lived!

25 'And it would be possible O king to show  
 forth the Buddha's greatness by a hundred or a  
 thousand such examples such reasons such argu-  
 ments such metaphors Just, O king as a clever  
 garland maker will from one heap of all kinds of  
 flowers both following the instruction of his teacher  
 and also using his own individuality as a man, make  
 many variegated and beautiful bouquets—just so,  
 O king that Blessed One is as it were an infinite,  
 immeasurable, heap of variegated flowers of virtue  
 And I now a garland maker, as it were in the

church of the Conqueror stringing those flowers together,—both following the path of our teachers of old and also using such power of wisdom as in me is—could show forth by inference the power of the Buddha in innumerable similes. But you on the other hand must show a desire to hear them<sup>1</sup>

Hard would it be Nâgasena for any other men thus to have shown by inference drawn from such examples the power of the Buddha. I am filled with satisfaction venerable Nâgasena at your so perfectly varied exposition of this problem

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Here ends the problem of Inference<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Sinhalese is here much expanded

<sup>2</sup> Mr Trenckner reads *Anumâna pañham* the Sinhalese has *Mahâ Anumâna Prasnayaya*

## BOOK VI

## THE DHUTANGAS

[348] 1 The king saw Bhikkhus in the forest, lone  
 And far away from men keeping hard vows.  
 And then he saw too householders at home  
 Eating the sweet fruits of the Noble Path<sup>1</sup>  
 Considering both of these deep doubts he felt  
 'If laymen also realise the Truth  
 Then surely vowing vows must be in vain.  
 Come! let me ask that best of teachers wise  
 In the threefold basket of the Buddha's words,  
 Skilled to overthrow the arguments of the foe  
 He will be able to resolve my doubts!'

2 Now Milinda the king went up to the place  
 where Nâgasena was, and bowed down before him  
 and took his seat on one side. And when so seated,  
 he said to Nâgasena Venerable Nâgasena is  
 there any layman living at home enjoying the  
 pleasures of sense, occupying a dwelling encumbered  
 with wife and children enjoying the use of sandal  
 wood from Benares and of garlands, perfumes, and  
 ointments, accepting gold and silver, with an em-  
 broidered head-dress on, set with diamonds and  
 pearls and gold—is there any such who has seen face  
 to face the calm the supreme good, Nirvâna?'

'Not one hundred only, O king nor two nor

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<sup>1</sup> 'Standing in the Front of the Anâgâminas.' So they had  
 already reached the third stage in the Excellent Way

three nor five nor six hundred not a thousand only nor a hundred thousand nor ten millions nor ten thousand millions not even only a billion laymen (have seen Nirvâna)—not to speak of twenty or thirty or a hundred or a thousand who have attained to clear understanding (of the four Truths)<sup>1</sup> By

<sup>1</sup> I take this to mean Not to speak of comparatively small numbers who have experienced Abhisamaya: an innumerable host of laymen have reached Nirvâna—that is have reached and during their lives remained in the third stage of the Path, and attained Arahatsip just before they died. Abhisamaya is used either absolutely or in composition. Mânâbhisamaya (A IV 38 5=M I 12) certainly and perhaps Atthabhisamaya is used of Arahats but they do not occur in our author. He uses occasionally Dhammâbhisamaya (see pp 255 350 &c of the Pâli) and Kâtu sakâbhisamaya (see pp 171 334 &c.) but more frequently Abhisamaya absolutely. Dhammâbhisamaya, penetration into clear understanding of the Dhammas or Dhamma may refer to the four Dhammas of Anguttara IV 1 (= M P S IV 2 3) or to the comprehension of the qualities (Dhammas) of things or (what is very much the same) to the comprehension of the principal doctrine (Dhamma) of the impermanence of all things. In the last case it would be the same thing looked at from a slightly different point of view as the Dhamma-kakkhu the Eye for the Truths (see Surnangala Vilâsini I, 237) or as that insight (Vipassana) which is the entrance to the Path. But the four Truths (as to sorrow &c.) are also important Dhammas, and as the expression Kâtu-sakâbhisamaya clearly refers to them and them only this may also be the meaning of dhammâbhisamaya or at any rate of abhisamaya standing above. So at least I take the latter here. We know that the Eye for the Dhamma, the perception of the first only of the tîṇi lakkaṇāni (impermanence) implies and involves the entrance into the Path. Oddly enough there is as yet no evidence to show whether the perception of the cardinal doctrine of the four Truths necessarily does so too, or can do so alone without the Dhamma-kakkhu. If the latter, then there are two gates to the Path. And this is not only quite possible but is the inference one might fairly draw from the constant phrase 'After the exposition of the Truths had concluded so and so attained to one or other of the phalâni.

what kind of exposition shall I lay before you evidence showing that I know this<sup>1</sup>?

'Do you yourself tell me'<sup>2</sup>

3 Then O king I will explain it All those passages in the ninefold word of the Buddha that deal with holiness of life [349] and attainment of the path and the divisions of the excellent habit of living under vows, shall be brought to bear in this connection<sup>3</sup> Just O king as water which has rained down upon a country district with both low-lying and high places level land and undulations dry ground and wet, will—all of it—flow off thence and meet together in the ocean of great waters so will all those passages meet together and be brought into connection here And a manifestation of reasons out of my experience and knowledge shall be also brought to bear Thus will this matter be thoroughly analysed its beauty will be brought out<sup>4</sup> it will be exhausted<sup>5</sup> brought home

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<sup>1</sup> Literally shall I give you anuyoga, which the Sinhalese renders opportunity for speech (l) Above at p 10 of the Pal the rendering is quite different, pādāṃ dī samugeṇa The only translation that fits the context in both of these places (the only ones in which the idiom has so far, been found) is lay before you (proofs of my) mastery (over the subject) or something of that sort. It is a disappointing satisfaction to find that the phrase was as unintelligible in Ceylon as it is to us. In my version above I should now prefer to write instead of repeated his lesson to his teacher for the last time, gave his teacher proofs that he had understood what he had taught him

<sup>2</sup> Hīmaḥ kumburē p 508 puts these words into the mouth of Nāgasena

<sup>3</sup> Litera<sup>7</sup> will come into connection here

<sup>4</sup> 14<sup>7</sup>, which the Sinhalese only repeats.

<sup>5</sup> Par) 1220 literally filled (paripūra wanneya)



to rest<sup>1</sup> It will be O king as when an able writing master on exhibiting by request his skill in writing, will supplement the written signs by an explanation of reasons out of his experience and knowledge and thus that writing of his becomes finished, perfect without defect So will I also bring to bear a manifestation of reasons out of my experience and knowledge and thus shall this matter be thoroughly analysed its beauty shall be brought out, it shall be exhausted set at rest<sup>2</sup>

4. In the city of Sāvatti, O king about fifty millions of the disciples of the Blessed One devout men and devout women were walking in the paths and out of those three hundred and fifty-seven thousand<sup>3</sup> were established in the fruit of the third path And all of them were laity not members of the Order And there too at the foot of the *Gandamba* tree when the double miracle took place<sup>4</sup>, two hundred millions of living beings<sup>5</sup> penetrated to an understanding (of the four Truths) And again on the delivery of the *Rāhulovāda*<sup>6</sup> discourse and of the *Maha Mangala*<sup>7</sup> discourse and of the *Samaññitta*<sup>8</sup> exposition and of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Samanitto* treated with respectful affection says *Hīnaṁ kumburē*

<sup>2</sup> I cannot hope to have solved all the difficulties with which the last two paragraphs bristle But I think the general sense is clear and the way smoothed for future translators

<sup>3</sup> This curious number (like others below) must have a history and a meaning

<sup>4</sup> See *Sumangala Vilāsinī* p 57 *Gāthaka* I 77 78 IV 263-266

<sup>5</sup> Mostly gods of one sort or another

<sup>6</sup> See the note above on I, 32 (p 20 of the *Pāli*)

<sup>7</sup> In the *Sutta Nipāta* II 4

<sup>8</sup> See the note above, loc. cit

Parābhava<sup>1</sup> discourse and of the Purābheda<sup>2</sup> discourse, and of the Kalaha-vivāda discourse, and of the Kūla-vyūha<sup>1</sup> discourse, and of the Mahā-vyūha<sup>1</sup> discourse and of the Tuwaṭaka<sup>1</sup> discourse and of the Sāriputta<sup>1</sup> discourse an innumerable number of celestial beings penetrated to knowledge (of the four Truths) In the city of Rāgagaha three hundred and fifty thousand devout laymen and devout laywomen disciples of the Blessed One were walking in the Paths And there again at the taming of Dhana-pāla the great elephant<sup>3</sup> nine hundred million living beings and again at the meeting at the Pasāṇika Ketiya on the occasion of the Pārāyana discourse<sup>4</sup> one hundred and forty million living beings, and again at the Indasāla cave eight hundred millions of gods and again at Benares [350] in the deer park Isipatana at the first preaching of the Dhamma<sup>5</sup> one hundred and eighty million Brahma gods and innumerable others, and again in the heaven of the Thirty Three at the preaching of the Abhi-dhamma on the Panda Kambala Rock<sup>6</sup> eight hundred millions of the gods and on the descent from the world of the gods at the gate of the city of Sankassa<sup>7</sup> at the miracle of the manifestation to the world

<sup>1</sup> In the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Sutta Nipata*

<sup>2</sup> *Sutta Nipāta* I 6

<sup>3</sup> See the note above on IV, 4, 44 (p 207 of the Pāli), also below p. 410 of the Pāli

<sup>4</sup> *Sutta Nipāta* pp 185 205 (of Professor Fausbøll's edition for the Pāli Text Society).

<sup>5</sup> See *Buddhist Suttas* p. 154 and the note above on I, 38

<sup>6</sup> *Gāthaka* IV 265

<sup>7</sup> *Loka-vivarana pāṭihāriye* referred to at *Dāḥavamsa* II 150. The exact meaning of the second word, literally ———ing

three hundred millions of believing men and deities penetrated to a knowledge (of the four Truths) And again at Kapila-vatthu among the Sakyas at the preaching of the Buddhavaṃsa<sup>1</sup> in the Nigrodha Arāma, and again at the preaching of the Mahā Samaya Suttanta<sup>2</sup>, gods in numbers that cannot be counted penetrated to a knowledge of the Dhamma And again at the assemblies on the occasions of Sumana the garland maker<sup>3</sup> and of Garahadīna, and of Ānanda the rich man and of Gambuka the naked ascetic<sup>4</sup> and of Mandūka the god, and of Matta-kundali the god and of Sulasā the courtesan<sup>5</sup> and of Sīrīmā the courtesan and of the weaver's daughter, and of Subhaddā and of the spectacle of the cremation of the Brahman of Sāketa and of the Sūnaparantas, and of the problem put by Sakka<sup>6</sup> and of the Tirokudda Sutta<sup>7</sup>, and of the Ratana Sutta<sup>8</sup>—at each of these eighty four thousand penetrated to a knowledge of the Dhamma So long, O king, as the Blessed One remained in the world so long wheresoever in the three great divisions

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is doubtful Alwis in another connection renders it prosperity See his quotation from Buddhaghosa's *Papañka Sādanī* quoted by Childers sub voce The Sinhalese has rūpa kāya sampat dakwā dakwā continually manifesting (to all the world) the glory of his outward form

<sup>1</sup> See the commentary on that work quoted by Dr Morris in his edition for the Pāli Text Society pp viii-x

<sup>2</sup> See the opening words of that discourse No 20 in the Dīgha in Grimblot

<sup>3</sup> See above pp 115, 291 of the Pāli

Compare Thera Gāthā 283-286

<sup>4</sup> Her whole story is given Gāthaka III 435 foll

<sup>5</sup> The account of which is in the Dīgha No 21.

<sup>7</sup> In the Khuddaka Pāṭha.

<sup>8</sup> In the Sutta Nipata and Khuddaka Pāṭha.

(of India)<sup>1</sup> or in the sixteen principal countries (in them)<sup>2</sup> he stayed, there as a usual thing two three, four or five hundred or a thousand or a hundred thousand both gods and men saw face to face the calm the supreme good, Nirvâna. And all of those who were gods O king, were laymen. They had not entered the Order. So these and many other billions of gods O king—even while they were yet laymen living at home, enjoying the pleasures of sense,—saw face to face (realised in themselves) the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvâna.<sup>3</sup>

5 'If so venerable Nâgasena—if laymen, living at home and enjoying the pleasures of sense can see Nirvâna—what purpose then do these extra vows serve? That being so, rather must [351] the vows be workers of mischief. For Nâgasena, if diseases would abate without medicine what would be the advantage of weakening the body by emetics, by purges and other like remedies?—if one's enemies could be subdued with one's fists only, where would be the need of swords and spears of javelins and bows and cross bows of maces and of clubs?—if trees could be climbed by clambering up them with the aid of the knots and of the crooked and hollow places in them, of the thorny excrescences and creepers and branches growing on them, what would be the need of going in quest of ladders long and strong?—if sleeping on the bare ground gave

<sup>1</sup> That is Pâkîna, Avanti and Dakkhinâpatha (say the East, the Upper Ganges Valley and the Dekkan).

<sup>2</sup> The full list is given in the note at 'Vinâya Texts II, 146

<sup>3</sup> This Buddhist way of looking on the gods as laymen has been already referred to above in the note on p. 20 of the Pâñ I 32 of the

ease to the limbs<sup>1</sup>, why should one seek after fine large beds soft to the touch?—if one could cross the desert alone inaccessible though it be and full of danger and fear why need one wait for a grand caravan well armed and well equipped?—if a man were able by his own arms to cross a flowing river what need he care for firm dykes or boats?—if he could provide board and lodging for himself out of his own property why should he trouble to do service to others to flatter with sweet words to run to and fro?—when he can get water from a natural pool, why should he dig wells and tanks and artificial ponds? And just so venerable Nāgasena if laymen living at home and enjoying the pleasures of sense can realise in themselves the condition of Peace the Supreme Good Nirvāṇa what is the need of taking upon oneself these vows?

6 There are O king these twenty eight good qualities in the vows virtues really inherent in them and on account of these all the Buddhas alike have longed for them and held them dear And what are the twenty eight? The keeping of the vows O king implies a mode of livelihood without evil it has a blissful calm as its fruit it avoids blame, it works no harm to others, it is free from danger it brings no trouble on others it is certain to bring with it growth in goodness it wastes not away it deludes not, it is in itself a protection<sup>2</sup> it works the satisfaction of desires and the taming of all beings it is good for self

<sup>1</sup> Dhātu samatā for which Hīnaś-kumburē (p 511) has Dhātu samanaya

<sup>2</sup> Hīnaś-kumburē p 512 takes ārakkhā patthitadadam as one compound

control it is appropriate<sup>1</sup> (he who keeps the vows) is self-dependent<sup>2</sup>, is emancipated<sup>3</sup> the keeping of them is the destruction of lust, and of malice, and of dullness, it is the pulling away of pride the cutting off of evil thoughts the removal of doubts the suppression of sloth the putting away of discontent it is long-suffering its merit is beyond weight, and its virtue beyond measure, and it is the path that leads to the end of every grief These, O king are the twenty-eight good qualities in the vows [352] and it is on account of these that all the Buddhas alike have longed for them and held them dear

7 And whosoever O king thoroughly carry out the vows, they become completely endowed with eighteen good qualities What are these eighteen? Their walk is pure, their path is accomplished well guarded are they in deed and word altogether pure are they in manners and in mind, their zeal flags not, all their fears are allayed, all delusions (as to the permanence and as to the degree) of their individuality have been put away, anger has died away while love (to all beings)<sup>4</sup> has arisen in their hearts, in taking nourishment they eat it with the three right views regarding food<sup>5</sup> they are honoured of

<sup>1</sup> *Paṭirūpam* probably to the life of a recluse, but the Sinhalese takes it to mean 'to the doctrine' (*sāsana*)

<sup>2</sup> *Anissitam*. See the note above on the translation of p 321 of the Pāli 'Independent of craving (*trishnā*), says the Sinhalese.

<sup>3</sup> *Vippanuttam*. Of *trishnā* says the Sinhalese again

<sup>4</sup> *Mettā*, which always has the connotation *Hināṣi-kumburē* accordingly renders it *sakala-satwayan kerehi maitreya*.

<sup>5</sup> *Āhāro pariññāto*. The three right views are, 1 as to its nature, 2 as to its impurity 3 as to the lust of taste.

all men they are temperate in eating they are full of watchfulness they need no home wheresoever is a pleasant spot there do they dwell they loathe to do ill they take delight in solitude, they are in earnest always These O king are the good qualities with which they who carry out the vows are completely endowed

8 And these ten, O king are the individuals worthy of those advantages inherent in the vows—the man full of faith, ashamed to do wrong full of courage, void of hypocrisy master of himself not unstable<sup>1</sup> desirous to learn glad to undertake the task that is hard not easy to take offence, of a loving heart These O king are the ten individuals worthy of those advantages inherent in the vows.

9 And all they, O king who as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace the Supreme Good Nirvâna,—all they had in former births accomplished their training laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them and so now, even as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvâna. Just, O king as a clever archer first in regular succession teaches his pupils at the training ground the different kinds of bows, the manner of holding the bow up and of keeping it in a firm grasp, and of bending the fingers, and of planting the feet, and of taking up the arrow and of placing it on

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<sup>1</sup> Alolo, 'not greedy after the four requisites of a recluse says the Sinhalese p 514.

the string and of drawing it back and of restraining it, and of aiming at the mark, and thus of hitting<sup>1</sup> a man of straw, or targets made of the *Khanaka* plant<sup>2</sup> or of grass, or of straw or of masses of clay, or of shields<sup>3</sup>—and after that introducing them to the service of the king he gains the reward of high bred chargers and chariots and elephants and horses and money and corn and red gold and slave girls and slaves and wives and lands. [353] Just so O king all they who as laymen living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace the Supreme Good Nirvâna—all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them and so now, even as laymen, and living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace the Supreme Good Nirvâna.

10 'And there is no realisation of Arahatsip O king in one single life without a previous keeping of the vows Only on the utmost zeal and the most devoted practice of righteousness, and with the aid of a suitable teacher is the realisation of Arahatsip attained. Just, O king as a doctor or surgeon first procures for himself a teacher, either by the payment of a fee or by the performance of service, and then

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<sup>1</sup> Vedbe I follow Mr Trenckner but the Sinhalese translation is based on the reading Vede

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese takes this word in composition with the following *tina* and spells it *Ganakaya*. Compare *Kanaka*, a chick pea.

<sup>3</sup> Phalaka. But Hīmañ kumburā, p 514 takes it in the technical sense of a kind of rough roller made of the wood apple tree (*dimbul porū*) and used for levelling rice-fields.



thoroughly trains himself in holding the lancet in cutting marking, or piercing with it in extracting darts, in cleansing wounds in causing them to dry up in the application of ointments, in the administration of emetics and purges and oily enemas and only when he has thus gone through training served his apprenticeship made himself skilful, does he visit the sick to heal them Just so O king all they who as laymen, living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense realise in themselves the condition of Peace the Supreme Good Nirvâna—all they had in former births accomplished their training laid the foundation in the practice of the thirteen vows had purified their walk and conduct by means of them, and so now even as laymen and living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace the Supreme Good Nirvâna.

11 'And there is no perception of the truth to those who are not purified by the virtues that depend on the keeping of the vows Just as without water no seed will grow so can there be no perception of the truth to those not purified by the practice of the vows Just as there is no rebirth in bliss to those who have done no meritorious actions, no beautiful deeds, so is there no perception of the truth for those not purified by the practice of the vows

12 Like the broad earth O king is the character resulting from the keeping of the vows, to serve as a basis to those who desire to be pure<sup>1</sup> Like water is it, O king, to wash away the stain of all things

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<sup>1</sup> Visuddhi kâmmânam, which Hīnaś kumburê characteristically renders, who desire to attain to Nirvâna (p. 516)

evil in those who desire to be pure Like the fire is it O king to burn out the lust of all evil in those who desire to be pure [354] Like the wind is it O king, to carry away the dust of all evil in those desiring to be pure Like medicine is it, O king to allay the disease of evil in those desiring to be pure Like ambrosia is it, O king to act as an antidote to the poison of evil in those desiring to be pure Like arable land is it, O king on which to grow the crop of all the virtues of renunciation to those desiring to be pure Like a wishing-gem<sup>1</sup> is it O king, for conferring all the high attainments they long and crave for upon those who desire to be pure Like a boat is it O king for carrying to the further shore of the mighty ocean of transmigration all those who desire to be pure Like a place of refuge is it, O king where those who desire to be pure can be safe from the fear of old age and death Like a mother is it O king to comfort those who desire to be pure when afflicted with the sorrows of sin Like a father is it, O king to raise up in those who desire to be pure and to increase in goodness all the good qualities of those who have renounced the world Like a friend is it, O king in not disappointing those who desire to be pure in their search after the good qualities of those who have renounced the world Like a lotus flower, O king is it in not being tarnished by the stain of evil Like costly perfume (of saffron and of jasmine and the Turkish incense and the Greek)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Manohara. Childers does not give this meaning to the word, but it is confirmed by the passages above and below pp. 118, 358 of the Pāli, and by the Sinhalese.

<sup>2</sup> Katu-gāṭiya-gandho. The two last are Yavana and Tarukha. Böhtlingk Roth explain both as Olibanum Our

is it O king for counteracting the bad odour of evil for those who desire to be pure Like a lofty mountain range is it O king, for protecting those who desire to be pure from the onslaught of the winds of the eight conditions to which men are subject in this world (gain and loss, and fame and dishonour and praise and blame and happiness and woe)<sup>1</sup> Like the space of heaven is it O king in the freedom from all obstruction in the magnitude, in the great expanse and breadth it gives to those who desire to be pure. Like a stream is it O king in washing away for those who desire to be pure the stain of all evil. Like a guide is it, O king in bringing safe out of the desert of rebirths out of the jungle of lusts and sins those who desire to be pure Like a mighty caravan is it, O king for bringing those who desire to be pure safe into that most blessed city of Nirvāṇa peaceful and calm where no fear dwells [355] Like a well-polished spotless mirror is it, O king for showing to those who desire to be pure the true nature of the constituent elements of all beings Like a shield is it O king for warding off from those who desire to be pure the clubs and the arrows and the swords of evil dispositions Like a sunshade is it O king for warding off from those who desire to be pure the scorching heat of the threefold fire<sup>2</sup> Like

author does not give the details, but it is unlikely that he meant other perfumes than those usually comprised in the term perfume of four kinds The expression is not found in the Piṭakas though it occurs in Buddhaghosa and its use by our author may help to settle his date when we know its history and the exact composition of the two foreign perfumes it includes

<sup>1</sup> The eight Loka dhammas.

<sup>2</sup> That is of lust, malice, and dullness—that fire the 'going out of which (in one's heart) is Nirvāṇa.

the moon is it O king as being longed and hoped for by those who desire to be pure Like the sun is it O king as dispelling the blackness of the darkness of ignorance for those who desire to be pure Like the ocean is it O king as causing to arise in those desiring to be pure the costly treasures of the virtues of those who have renounced the world and by reason too of its immensity of its being beyond measure and beyond count

13 'Thus is it O king of great service to those desiring to be pure a remover of all sorrow and lamentation an antidote to discontent it puts an end to fear and individuality, and imperviousness of mind to evil and to grief and to pain and to lust, and to malice and to dullness and to pride and to heresy and to all wrong dispositions it brings with it honour and advantage and bliss it fills them with ease and with love and with peace of mind it is free from blame it has happiness here as its fruit, it is a mine and treasure of goodness that is beyond measure and beyond count, costly above all things, and precious

14 'Just O king as men for nourishment seek after food, for health medicine for assistance a friend for crossing water a boat, for pleasant odours a perfume for security a place of refuge for support the earth, for instruction a teacher for honours a king, and for whatever they desire a wishing gem—just so O king, do the Arahats seek after the virtues of the keeping of the vows for the attainment of all the advantages of renunciation of the world

15 And what water is for the growth of seeds, [358] what fire is for burning what food is for giving strength, what a creeper is for tying things up what

a sword is for cutting what water is for allaying thirst what a treasure is for giving confidence what a boat is for crossing to the further shore, what medicine is for allaying disease what a carriage is for journeying at ease what a place of refuge is for appeasing fear what a king is for protection what a shield is for warding off the blows of sticks and stakes of clubs of arrows, and of darts what a teacher is for instruction what a mother is for nourishing, what a mirror is for seeing what a jewel is for ornament what a dress is for clothing what a ladder is for mounting up what a pair of scales is for comparison<sup>1</sup> what a charm is for repetition, what a weapon is for warding off scorn, what a lamp is for dissipating darkness what a breeze is for allaying fever what knowledge of an art is for the accomplishment of business what medicinal drugs are for the preservation of life, what a mine is for the production of jewels what a gem is for ornament what a command is for preventing transgression, what sovereignty is for dominion—all that, O king is the character that comes of keeping the vows for the good growth of the seed of renunciation, for the burning out of the stains of evil, for giving the strength of Iddhi for tying up one's self in self-control and presence of mind for the complete cutting off of doubt and mistrust, for allaying the thirst of craving, for giving confidence as to perception of the truth for crossing to the further shore of the fourfold stream (of sensuality individuality, delusion and ignorance), for allaying the disease of evil dis

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<sup>1</sup> Nikkhepana, not in Childers, but compare Samyutta Nikāya XX, 22, 6

positions for attaining to the bliss of Nirvâna for appeasing the fears that arise from birth, old age decay and death grief pain lamentation woe and despair, for being protected in the possession of the advantages of renunciation for warding off discontent and evil thoughts for instruction in all the good involved in the life of those who have renounced the world, for nourishment therein for explaining to men quietude and insight and the path and the fruits thereof and Nirvâna for bestowing upon men a costly ornament high in the praise and admiration of the world for closing the doors of all evil states for mounting up to the peaks of the mountain heights of renunciation for distinguishing crooked and cunning and evil intentions in others for the proper recitation of those qualities which ought to be practised and those which ought not for warding off as one's enemies all evil dispositions for dissipating the darkness of ignorance for allaying the fever arising from the scorching of the threefold fire for the accomplishment of the attainment of the Condition of Peace—so gentle and so subtle—for the protection of the virtues of the life of a recluse for the production of the precious jewels of the sevenfold wisdom—self possession investigation of the truth energy joy calm contemplation and serenity—for the adornment of the recluses for the prevention of any transgression against that blameless abstruse delicate bliss [357] that comes of peace for dominion over all the qualities that recluses and Arahats affect Thus O king is it that keeping the vows is one and the same thing as attaining to all these qualities. And the advantage thereof, O king, cannot be weighed, neither measured, it has no equal no rival, no

superior, great is it and glorious extensive and abundant deep and broad and large and wide, full of weight and worth and might

16 And whosoever O king having evil cravings in his heart being hypocritical greedy a slave to his stomach<sup>1</sup> seeking after material gain or worldly fame and glory unfit (for the outward signs of Arahatsip) not having reached the attainments whose conduct is inconsistent (with membership in the Order) unworthy of it inappropriate to it—whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows he shall incur a twofold punishment suffering the loss of the good that may be in him For in this world he shall receive disgrace and scorn and blame and ridicule and suspension and excommunication<sup>2</sup> and expulsion and he shall be outcast rejected dismissed and in his next life he shall suffer torment in the great Avīṭi purgatory that is a hundred leagues in depth and covered as with a garland, with hot and scorching fierce and fiery blazing flames therein shall he rise and fall for myriads of years upwards and downwards and across—a foam bubble, as it were cast up and thrown from side to side in a boiling sea<sup>3</sup> And when released from thence then as a mighty Preta (ghost) in the outward form of a monk but with

<sup>1</sup> Odaṛika, not in Childers and only found as yet at this passage and at the Thera Gāthā verse 101 It is the Sanskrit andarika Who enters the Order for the sake of his stomach says the Sinhalese p 221

<sup>2</sup> Khīṭanaṃ Compare khīṭito above pp 229 288 of the Pāli.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the rules at Kullavagga I, 25 : &c

<sup>4</sup> On Pheṇ uddehakam compare Gataka III, 46, on sam parivattakam above p 253 of the Pāli.

body and limbs lean and rugged and dark, with head swollen<sup>1</sup> bloated, and full of holes hungry and thirsty odd and dreadful in colour and form his ears all torn and his eyes ever winking his limbs a mass of mortifying sores<sup>2</sup> his whole body the prey of maggots his stomach all scorching and hot like a fiery furnace blazing in the breeze yet with a mouth no larger than a needle so that his thirst can never cease with no place of refuge to fly to no protector to help him, groaning and weeping and crying out for mercy, shall he wander wailing o'er the earth<sup>3</sup>

17 Just O king as whosoever being unfit for royalty without having properly attained to it being inappropriate to it unworthy of it unsuitable for it, a low-born man and base in lineage should receive the consecration of a king he would suffer mutilation having his hands or his feet or his hands and feet cut off or his ears or his nose, or his ears and nose cut off [358] or he would be tortured, being subjected to the Gruel Pot, or to the Chank Crown, or to the Rahu's Mouth or to the Fire Garland or to the Hand Torch or to the Snake Strips, or to the Bark Dress or to the Spotted Antelope or to the Flesh Hooks or to the Pennies, or to the Brine Slits or to the Bar Turn or to the Straw Seat<sup>4</sup> or he would be anointed with boiling oil or be eaten by dogs, or be impaled alive or be beheaded, or be subjected to punishments of various kinds And why? Because he being unfit for it, without having properly attained to it, being inappropriate to it, unworthy of it, unsuitable for it, a low born man

<sup>1</sup> Sâna (fo. sâna). See *Kullavagga* X 1 2 3

<sup>2</sup> Arn gatto pakka gatto See *Maggama Nikâya* I 506

<sup>3</sup> On all these see the notes above, I, 276, 277



and base in lineage he had placed himself in the seat of sovereignty and thus transgressed beyond his right limits. Just so O king whosoever having evil cravings in his heart being hypocritical, greedy a slave to his stomach, seeking after material gain or worldly fame and glory unfit (for the outward signs of Arahatsip) not having reached the attainments whose conduct is inconsistent (with membership in the Order), unworthy of it inappropriate to it—whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows he shall incur a twofold punishment suffering the loss of the good that may be in him. For in this world he shall receive disgrace and scorn and blame, and ridicule and suspension and excommunication and expulsion and he shall be outcast rejected dismissed and in his next life he shall suffer torment in the great *Avīṇī* purgatory that is a hundred leagues in depth and covered as with a garland, with hot and scorching fierce and fiery blazing flames, therein shall he rise and fall for myriads of years upwards and downwards and across—a foam bubble as it were, cast up and thrown from side to side in a boiling sea. And when released from thence, then as a mighty Preta (ghost) in the outward form of a monk but with body and limbs lean and rugged and dark with head swollen bloated and full of holes, hungry and thirsty odd and dreadful in colour and form, his ears all torn, and his eyes ever winking his limbs a mass of mortifying sores his whole body the prey of maggots, his stomach all scorching and hot like a fiery furnace blazing in the breeze yet with a mouth no larger than a needle so that his thirst can never cease with no place of refuge to fly

to no protector to help him groaning and weeping and crying out for mercy shall he wander wailing o'er the earth<sup>1</sup>

18 'But whosoever O king is fit who has reached the attainments, whose conduct is consistent with membership in the Order who is worthy of it, appropriate to it, who desires little and is content given to seclusion, not fond of society alert in zeal resolute of heart without guile without deceit not a slave to his stomach seeking neither material gain nor worldly fame or glory full of faith who has entered the Order from belief (in the doctrine and not from worldly motives) and is full of desire for release from old age and death—whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows with the idea of upholding the faith he is deserving of twofold honour For he is near and dear to, loved and longed for by both gods and men dear as rare jasmine flowers to the man bathed and anointed, as sweet food to the hungry as cool, clear fragrant water to the thirsty, as a healing drug to a poisoned man as a costly chariot drawn by high-bred steeds to the hurrying traveller as a wishing gem to the greedy for gain, as the pure white sunshade of sovereignty to one ambitious for a throne as the blessed attainment of the fruits of Arahatsip to the seeker after holiness It is he who attains to the fullest mastery over the four Earnest Meditations, the fourfold Great Struggle the four Roads to Saintship the five Organs of the moral sense the five moral Powers, the seven forms of Wisdom, and the Noble Eightfold Path<sup>1</sup>, quietude and insight reign in his heart attainment

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<sup>1</sup> For the details of these constituent elements of Arahatsip, see my note in *Buddhist Suttas*, pp 60-63

through study becomes easy to him and the four fruits of the life of a recluse<sup>1</sup> [359] the four kinds of Discrimination<sup>2</sup> the threefold Knowledge<sup>3</sup> the six-fold higher Wisdom<sup>4</sup> in a word the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own an anointed king is he and over him is borne the pure white sunshade of emancipation<sup>1</sup>

19 Just O king as all the citizens and country folk in the land the soldiers and the peons (royal messengers) wait in service upon a Kshatriya king born to the purple and on both sides of lineage high when he has been consecrated with the inauguration ceremonies of the Kshatriyas<sup>5</sup> the thirty-eight divisions of the royal retinue and the dancing men and acrobats, and the soothsayers<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> These are the four stages of the path to Arhatship

<sup>2</sup> *Pañisambhīdā*—in worldly things and in religion in intuitive knowledge and in exposition

<sup>3</sup> *Tisso Viggā* One explanation of this term is the knowledge of the three limitations of individuality—its impermanence the pain involved in the struggle to maintain it, and the absence of any permanent principle (any soul) in any individual. But it is also explained in the *Anguttara Nikāya* III 58 as meaning the knowledge firstly of one's own former births, secondly of other people's former births and thirdly of the nature the origin, and the right method of subduing sorrow and the *āsavas* (that is lust, individuality delusion and ignorance). The first triplet is identical with the three *lakkhaṇas*, the second with the last three of the *Dasabalas* the ten powers of a Buddha. So in the *Sutta Vibhanga* (*Pārāgika* I 1-8) the last of these three is called *tatīyā viggā*. Compare also *Buddhist Suttas* p 162

<sup>4</sup> The *Abhiññās*.

<sup>5</sup> Some details of this are given in the *Sinhalese*, p 524

<sup>6</sup> *Mukha mangalīkā*, which the *Sinhalese* repeats, and which apparently means 'panegyrists'. The exact connotation of both these terms has yet to be settled. *Soḷḷā vāṭakā* may correspond with the people who throw rice after a departing wedding pair

and the neralds<sup>1</sup> and Samanas and Brahmans and the followers of every sect frequent his court and he becomes the lord of every seaport, and treasure mine and town and custom house<sup>2</sup>—giving instructions as to the fate of every foreigner and criminal<sup>3</sup>—just so O king whoever is fit, who has reached the attainments, whose conduct is consistent with membership in the Order who is worthy of it, appropriate to it who desires little and is content given to seclusion not fond of society alert in zeal resolute of heart, without guile without deceit, not a slave to his stomach seeking neither material gain nor worldly fame or glory full of faith who has entered the Order from belief (in the doctrine and not from worldly motives) and is full of desire for release from old age and

and Mukha mangalikâ may be those who prophesy the lucky days on which a thing is to be commenced. But this is the only passage in which the phrases occur in Pali and in Sanskrit we have only much later authorities. See the Commentary on Sakuntalâ quoted in the note on p 152 of Sir M Monier Williams's edition and Wilson's explanation in his Sanskrit Dictionary of swastî vakânâ.

<sup>1</sup> Soṭṭhî vâṇakâ, 'utterers of blessing. The Sinhalese has sôbhana vâṇanikayo (perhaps augurs).

<sup>2</sup> Sunkaṭṭhâna taxing-place. But the Sinhalese p 524 has only samasthâna.

<sup>3</sup> I can only guess at the meaning of this enigmatical phrase, which the Sinhalese again merely repeats but a precisely similar passage occurs in the Sumangala Vilâsini p 246 and though the exact course of proceedings in the ancient law courts of India is still in many details, uncertain, it is yet clear that the actual apportionment of punishment (as well as the execution of it) was always held to be the sole prerogative of the king. This was more especially the case where mutilation or a death sentence was concerned. Minor punishments the judges could no doubt, order without reference to the king. See Jolly, Beiträge zur indischen Rechts-geschichte, 'in the Zeitschrift der deutschen morgen Gesellschaft,' 1890, pp. 344 foll.

death—whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows with the idea of upholding the faith, he is deserving of twofold honour. For he is near and dear to loved and longed for by both gods and men dear as rare jasmine flowers to the man bathed and anointed as sweet food to the hungry as cool clear, fragrant water to the thirsty, as a healing drug to a poisoned man as a costly chariot drawn by high bred steeds to the hurrying traveller, as a wishing-gem to the greedy for gain, as the pure white sunshade of sovereignty to one ambitious for a throne, as the blessed attainment of the fruits of Arahatsip to the seeker after holiness. It is he who attains to the fullest mastery over the four Earnest Meditations the fourfold Great Struggle the four Roads to Saintship the five Organs of the moral sense the five moral Powers the seven forms of Wisdom, and the Noble Eightfold Path, quietude and insight reign in his heart attainment through study becomes easy to him, and the four fruits of the life of a recluse the four kinds of Discrimination, the threefold Knowledge the sixfold higher Wisdom in a word, the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own, an anointed king is he, and over him is borne the pure white sunshade of emancipation!

20 'Such O king are the thirteen vows purified by which a man shall bathe in the mighty waters of Nirvana and there indulge himself as one sporting in the waves, with the manifold delights of religion he shall addict himself to the eight modes of transcendental ecstasy, he shall acquire the powers of Iddhi distant sounds human and divine shall greet his ear, he shall divine the thoughts of others, he

shall be able to call to mind his own previous births and to watch the rise and fall from birth to birth of others, and he shall perceive the real nature and the origin of, he shall perceive the means of escape from sorrow and from lust, individuality delusion and ignorance the stains of life !

And what are these thirteen ? Wearing raiment made up of pieces taken from a dust heap—Wearing three robes and three robes only—Living on food received by begging—Begging straight on from house to house—Eating only once a day at one sitting—Eating from one vessel only—Refusing food in excess of the regulations—Dwelling in the woods—Dwelling at the root of a tree—Dwelling in the open air—Dwelling in or near a cemetery—Not altering the mat or bed when it has once been spread out to sleep on—and sleeping in a sitting posture. It is he O king who, in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out observed framed his conduct according to and fulfilled these thirteen vows who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse and all its ecstasy of peace and bliss becomes his very own <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Sinhalese pp 525-531 goes at great length into the details of all these vows each of which it divides into stages of greater or less severity specifying the practice to be followed in each stage. As a matter of fact the members of the Buddhist Order have not observed them in any completeness. Like the Buddha himself the majority have undertaken only the second of the thirteen—the wearing of three robes and the others have only been occasionally practised and then usually only one or more at a time by isolated members. It is true that the *Gâtaka Commentary* (Fausbøll, vol. II, p. 449) says that Upasena Vanganta putta kept the whole thirteen of the *Dhutangas*. But this is at variance with the older text (in the *Vinaya*, *Nissaggiya*, No. XV) giving that account of the same episode on which the story in the

21 Just O king as a shipowner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight on some seaport town will be able to traverse the high seas and go to Vanga, or Takkola or China or Sovira or Surat or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast or Further India or any other place where ships do congregate—just so O king [360] it is he who in former births has undertaken and practised followed and carried out observed framed his conduct according to and fulfilled these thirteen vows who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse and all its ecstasy of peace and bliss becomes his very own

22 And just O king as a husbandman will first remove the defects in the soil—weeds and thorns and stones—and then by ploughing and sowing

Gâtaka Commentary is based The thirteen vows are not referred to at all in the rules of the Order as translated in the three volumes of the Vinaya Texts nor are they mentioned as a whole in any Pîṭaka text yet published But the thirteen names are given together in a different order in a passage twice repeated in the Parivâra, a late book, probably written in Ceylon (pp 131 193) It is there declared of each of the thirteen vows that five sorts of people undertake them—those who do so from stupidity those who do so from vain desire those who are mad those who do so because the vows have been exalted by the Buddhas and their followers those who do so from high motives It is clear therefore that our author's doctrine of the thirteen Dhutangas is at variance with primitive Buddhism It would require however a separate note on each of the thirteen to show the exact degree of this variance The basis on which each of these observances rests can be found in the older teaching and nearly all of them have been praised or followed, in a greater or less degree from very early times,—not indeed as general rules binding on all members of the Order but as supplementary or extra vows conducive but subsidiary to the ethical self culture of the Arahat.

and irrigating and fencing and watching and reaping and grinding will become the owner of much flour, and so the lord of whosoever are poor and needy, reduced to beggary and misery—just so O king it is he who in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse and all its ecstasy of peace and bliss becomes his very own

23 'And again O king just as an anointed monarch is master over the treatment of outlaws is an independent ruler and lord and does whatsoever he desires and all the broad earth is subject to him—just so O king is he who has undertaken, practised and fulfilled in former births these vows master ruler and lord in the religion of the Conquerors and all the virtues of the Samanas are his

24. 'And was not Upasena the Elder he of the sons of the Vangantas<sup>1</sup> from his having thoroughly practised all the purifying merits of the vows able to neglect the agreement arrived at by the members of the Order resident at Sāvattthi and to visit with his attendant brethren the Subduer of men then retired into solitude and when he had bowed down before him to take his seat respectfully aside? And when the Blessed One saw how well trained his retinue was then, delighted and glad and exalted in heart, he greeted them with courteous words and said in his unbroken beautiful voice

'Most pleasant, Upasena, is the deportment of

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Sinhalese this was a Brahman clan. But the derivation suggests the borders of Bengal, where it is somewhat strange to find Brahmans so early



these brethren waiting upon you How have you managed thus to train your followers ?

And he when so questioned by the omniscient Buddha the god over all gods spake thus to the Blessed One as to the real reason for the goodness of their nature Whosoever Lord may come to me to ask for adm ssion to the Order or to become my disciple to him do I say [361] I Sir am a frequenter of the woods who gain my food by begging, and wear but this robe pieced together from cast off rags If you will be the same, I can admit you to the Order and make you my disciple Then if he agree thereto with joy and abase himself<sup>1</sup> I thereupon admit him to the Order and to the company of my pupils But if not then neither do I admit him to the one nor to the other Thus is it Lord, that I train them<sup>2</sup> And thus is it O king that he who has taken upon himself the vows becomes master ruler and lord in the religion of the Conquerors and all its ecstasy of peace and bliss becomes his very own

25 'Just O king as a lotus flower of glorious, pure and high descent and origin is glossy soft, desirable, sweet smelling longed for loved and praised untarnished by the water or the mud graced with tiny petals and filaments and pericarps the resort of many bees, a child of the clear cold

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<sup>1</sup> Oramati See Gataka I 492, where it is also used intransitively in the sense of abase oneself and Gâtaka I 498 where it is transitive to lower (the water in the ocean). But Hīmañ-kumburê, p 533 has simply oelêda, and adheres thereto

<sup>2</sup> As remarked in the note p 268 this episode is taken from the introduction to the 15th Nissaggiya.

stream—just so is that disciple of the Noble Ones who in former births has undertaken and practised followed and carried out observed and framed his conduct according to and fulfilled these thirteen vows endowed with the thirty graces And what are the thirty? His heart is full of affectionate, soft, and tender love evil is killed destroyed cast out from within him pride and self-righteousness are put an end to and cast down stable and strong and established and undeviating is his faith he enters into the enjoyment of the heart's refreshment, the highly praised and desirable peace and bliss of the ecstasies of contemplation fully felt he exhales the most excellent and unequalled sweet savour of righteousness of life, near is he and dear to gods and men alike exalted by the best of beings the Arahats Noble Ones themselves gods and men delight to honour him, the enlightened wise and learned approve esteem, appreciate and praise him, untarnished is he by the love either of this world or the next<sup>1</sup> he sees the danger in the smallest tiniest offence rich is he in the best of wealth—the wealth that is the fruit of the Path, the wealth of those who are seeking the highest of the attainments—he is partaker of the best of the four requisites of a recluse that may be obtained by asking he lives without a home addicted to that best austerity that is dependent on the meditation of the *Ghânas*, [362] he has unravelled the whole net of evil, he has broken and burst through, doubled up and utterly destroyed both the possibility of rebirth in any of the five future states, and the five obstacles to the

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Buddhist Suttas p 10, and the note there.

higher life in this one (lust malice sloth pride, and doubt) unalterable in character excellent in conduct<sup>1</sup>, transgressing none of the rules as to the four requisites of a recluse he is set free from rebirths he has passed beyond all perplexity his mind is set upon complete emancipation, he has seen the truth<sup>2</sup> the sure and steadfast place of refuge from all fear has he gained the seven evil inclinations (to lust and malice and heresy, and doubt and pride and desire for future life and ignorance) are rooted out in him he has reached the end of the Great Evils (lust individuality delusion and ignorance) he abounds in the peace and the bliss of the ecstasies of contemplation, he is endowed with all the virtues a recluse should have These O king, are the thirty graces he is adorned withal

26 And was not Sâriputta, the Elder O king the best man in the whole ten thousand world systems the Teacher of the world himself alone excepted? And he who through endless ages had heaped up merit and had been reborn in a Brahman family, relinquished all the delights of the pleasures of sense and gave up boundless wealth<sup>3</sup> to enter the Order according to the teaching of the Conqueror and having restrained his actions, words and thoughts by these thirteen vows, became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who after the Master, set rolling on the royal chariot

<sup>1</sup> Abhinīta vâso having the ten arya vâsas says the Simhalese

<sup>2</sup> Dīḷḷha dhammo seen the Four Truths says the Simhalese, p 535

<sup>3</sup> For saṅkha Hīnaśi kumburē has saḥassa.

wheel of the kingdom of righteousness in the religion of Gotama the Blessed One. So that this was said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods in that most excellent collection the Anguttara Nikaya.<sup>1</sup>

I know O brethren of no other man who in succession to me sets rolling on the glorious chariot-wheel of the kingdom of righteousness so well as Sariputta. Sariputta O brethren, sets rolling that wheel the best of all.

Most excellent Nāgasena! The whole ninefold word of the Buddha, the most exalted conduct, the highest and best of the attainments to be gained in the world,—all these are wrapped up together in the virtues that result from the keeping of the vows.

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Here ends the Ninth Chapter.<sup>2</sup>

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Here ends the Solving of Puzzles

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<sup>1</sup> Anguttara I 13 7

<sup>2</sup> The ninth because the numbering of the Vaggas is carried on from the last book. But according to the divisions enumerated at the beginning of the work (translated at p. 4 of the previous volume) it is one of the principal divisions of the book that is here closed, and the chapters ought not to run on.

## BOOK VII

## OPAMMA KATHA PAÑHO

## THE SIMILES

## CHAPTER 1

1 [363] Venerable Nāgasena with how many qualities must a member of the Order (a Bhikshu) be endowed to realise Arahathship ?

The brother, O king who wishes to attain Arahathship must take —

1	One quality of the ass	VII, 1 2
2	And five of the cock	3
3	And one of the squirrel	8
4	And one of the female panther	9
5	And two of the male panther	10
6	And five of the tortoise	12
7	And one of the bamboo	17
8	And one of the bow	18
9	And two of the crow	19
10	And two of the monkey	21
11	And one of the gourd	VII 2 1
12	And three of the lotus	2
13	And two of seed	5
14	And one of the Sal-tree	7
15	And three of a ship	8
16	And two of the anchor	11
17	And one of the mast	13
18	And three of the pilot	14
19	And one of the sailor	17
20	And five of the ocean	18
21	And five of the earth	VII, 3, 1

22	And five of water	VII 3 6
23	And five of fire	11
24	And five of wind	16
25	And five of rock	21
26	And five of space	26
27	And five of the moon	31
28	And seven of the sun	36
29	And three of Sakka	43
30	And four of a sovran overlord	46
31	And one of the white ant	VII 4, 1
32	And two of the cat	2
33	And one of the rat	4
34	And one of the scorpion	5
35	And one of the mongoose	6
36	[364] And two of the old jackal	7
37	And three of the deer	9
38	And four of the bull	12
39	And two of the boar	16
40	And five of the elephant	18
41	And seven of the lion	VII, 5, 1
42	And three of the <i>Kakravāka</i> bird	8
43	And two of the <i>Peṇāhikā</i> bird	11
44	And one of the house-pigeon	13
45	And two of the owl	14
46	And one of the crane	16
47	And two of the bat	17
48	And one of the leech	19
49	And three of the serpent	20
50	And one of the rock snake	23
51	And one of the road spider	VII, 6 1
52	And one of the child at the breast	2
53	And one of the land tortoise	3
54	And five of the mountain height	4
55	And three of the tree	9

56	And five of the rain cloud	VII 6	12
57	And three of the jewel		17
58	And four of the hunter		20
59	And two of the fisherman		24
60	And two of the carpenter		26
61	And one of the waterpot	VII 7	1
62	And two of iron		2
63	And three of a sunshade		4
64	And three of a rice field		7
65	And two of medicine		10
66	And three of food		12
67	And four of the archer <sup>1</sup>		15
	And four of the king		
	And two of the doorkeeper		
	And one of a grindstone		
	And two of a lamp		
	And two of the peacock		
	And two of the steed		
	And two of the publican		
	And two of a threshold		
	And one of a balance		
	And two of a sword		
	And two of a fish		
	[365] And one of a borrower		
	And two of a sick man		
	And two of a corpse		
	And two of a river		
	And one of a buffalo		
	And two of a road		
	And one of a tax gatherer		
	And three of a thief		

<sup>1</sup> The published text carries the details of these similes no further than this. See the remarks in the Introduction, pp xxiv

And one of the hawk.  
 And one of the dog  
 And three of the physician  
 And two of a woman with child.  
 And one of the yak cow  
 And two of the hen  
 And three of the dove.  
 And two of the one-eyed man.  
 And three of the husbandman  
 And one of the female jackal<sup>1</sup>  
 And two of the dyers straining-cloth<sup>2</sup>  
 And one of a spoon  
 And one of the negociator of a loan  
 And one of a collector  
 And two of a charioteer  
 And two of a village headman  
 And one of a tailor  
 And one of a helmsman.  
 And two of a bee.'

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Here ends the Table of Contents.

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<sup>1</sup> Gambuka sigāliya. In *Gātaka*, No 294 of Fausböll, the jackal is male. The reference therefore here is to a kind of jackal named after the Gambu fruit

<sup>2</sup> Kangavāarakassa. See *Magghima Nikāya* I 142-4 and *Gātaka* V 186 in both of which passages the Burmese MSS read *kanka*. The Sinhalese p 540, has *perahan kadē*



## I THE ASS

2 'Venerable Nagasena that one quality of the harsh voiced ass which you say he ought to take which is that?

'Just O king as the ass wheresoever he may lie down—whether on a dust heap or in the open space where four roads meet or three<sup>1</sup> or at the entrance to a village or on a heap of straw—[366]—nowhere is he given to resting long just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort wheresoever he may spread out his mat for repose—whether on strewed grass or leaves or on a bed of thorns or on the bare earth—nowhere should he be given to sloth This is the one quality of the ass he ought to have For this has been said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods

'Sleeping on pillows of chaff my disciples O brethren

Keep themselves earnest and ardent in strenuous fight<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Katukke* and *singhâ/ake* I follow *Hināsi kumburē* in the distinction he makes between the meaning of these terms—*satara* and *tun mam sandhiye* (p 540).

<sup>2</sup> *Yogi yogavakaro*. The rendering of these words is quite inadequate and has given me much trouble Neither *yogee* nor *devotee* can be used for they both have acquired connotations contradictory to what was in our author's mind He means the Buddhist Bhikshu belonging to that class among the Bhikshus (by no means the majority) who had devoted themselves to a life of systematic effort according to the Buddhist scheme of self training But I have found it impossible to put into any English phrase sufficiently short for the constant repetition of the two Pali words any full and accurate representation of all that they imply See the note above on p 43 of the Pali, and *Gataka*, vol 1, p 303

<sup>3</sup> Not traced as yet Mr Trenckner prints the passage as

‘And this too O king was said by Sâriputta the Elder, the Commander of the Faith

“If it but raineth not knee-deep on him  
When sitting in high meditations plunged—  
What cares the man on Arahatsip intent for  
ease<sup>1</sup>”

## 2 THE COCK

3 Venerable Nâgasena those five qualities of the cock which you say he ought to take, what are they?

Just O king as a cock goes early and betimes to roost so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, early and betimes sweep out the open space around the Dagaba, and having got ready<sup>2</sup> the drinking water for the days use and dressed himself<sup>3</sup>, and taken his bath he should bow

prose, but it is clearly two verses with a slight corruption in the first line. The point of the verses lies in the untranslatable pun of the words upadhâna pillow and padhana, strenuous fight. The word etarahi seems to me suspect and some such reading as kaṅgaropadhâna va would restore the metre and at the same time bring the play on the words more into prominence.

<sup>1</sup> This verse is found in the Thera Gatha, No 985. Hīnaś kumburē takes the na in the first line as a negative to abhi vassau and translates. So long as it does not rain knee deep on him when sitting in meditation what cares the Bhikshu who is bent on attaining Nirvāṇa for ease! — and this is, I think preferable to Mr. Trenckner's division of the words.

<sup>2</sup> That is, filtered perahā nagā tabā says the Sinhalese p. 541

<sup>3</sup> Saṅgama paṅgaggitvā, rested a little to remove the weariness of his body, says the Sinhalese here, but adds below § 4, siwuru henda.

down in reverence before the Dâgaba and then pay visits to the senior Bhikshus and on his return enter in due time into the chamber of solitude This O king, is the first of the qualities of the cock he ought to have

4 And again, O king as a cock rises early and betimes, so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, rise early and betimes to sweep out the open space around the Dâgaba, and get ready the drinking-water for the day's use, and dress himself and pay his daily reverence to the Dâgaba and enter into the chamber of solitude This O king is the second of the qualities of the cock he ought to have

5 And again O king as the cock is unremitting in scratching the earth to pick up what he can find to eat so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, practise continual self examination and circumspection in taking any nourishment he may find to eat reminding himself [367] "I eat this, seeking not after pleasure, nor after excitement nor after beauty of body nor after elegance of form, but merely for the preservation of my body to keep myself alive, as a means of appeasing the pain of hunger and of assisting me in the practice of the higher life Thus shall I put an end to all former sorrow and give no cause for future sorrow to arise, therein shall I be free from blame and dwell at ease. This O king is the third of the qualities of the cock he ought to have For it has been said, O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

"Like child's flesh in the desert wild  
Or smearing grease upon the wheel,

Solely to keep himself alive

Does he when feeling faint take food <sup>1</sup>

6 And again O king as the cock, though it has eyes, is blind by night so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, though he is not blind be as one blind Whether in the woods or on his daily walk for alms in search of food blind should he be and deaf and dumb to all delights of form or sound or taste or smell or touch should not make them the objects of his thought, should pay no special, detailed attention to them This O king is the fourth of the qualities of the cock he ought to have For it was said, O king by Mahā Kakkāyana, the Elder

Let him with eyes be as one blind

And he who hears be as the deaf

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet The verse is a riddle based on two parables Of these the first is already published in the *Samyutta Nikāya* XII, 63 5-8 It tells of a father and mother who in the desert (and of course only with the object of keeping themselves alive) ate their only child The other is not yet published but Mr Trenckner points out that it occurs in the 34th *Samyutta*. Oiling wheels is done solely to keep the cart going Compare the dying Buddha's comparison of himself to a worn out cart, which can only with difficulty be made to move along Like that the body of the Tathagata can only with difficulty be kept a little longer going ('Buddhist Suttas, p 37)

As to the last word I take it with *Hinañ kumburē*, p 542, to be *mukkhito* and not *amukkhito* as is printed in the text. That is also the reading adopted by Fausbøll at *Gātaka* II 294 where the verses are quoted

\* *Na nimittam gahetabbam nānubyañganam gahetabbam*. On these common expressions compare *Anguttara* I 2 6, &c *Puggala Paññāsa* II 17, IV 24, &c *Dīgha* II 64 &c and Buddhaghosa as quoted in *Vinaya Texts* II, 9 *Hinañ kumburē* only repeats the first but explains the second by *neewata wimasīmem*.

He who can speak be as the dumb,  
 The man of strength as were he weak.  
 As each new object rises to his ken  
 On the sweet couch of blest Nirvâna's peace  
 Let him lie down and rest<sup>1</sup>

7 And again O king as the cock even though persecuted<sup>2</sup> with clods and sticks and clubs<sup>3</sup> and cudgels will not desert his home, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort—whether he be engaged in rohemaking or in building work, or in any of his daily duties or in teaching or in receiving instruction<sup>4</sup>—never give up his presence of mind. For that O king—his presence of mind—is the home in which he dwells. This O king is the fifth of the qualities of the cock he ought to have [368] And this O king has been said by the Blessed One the god over all gods<sup>5</sup>

And which O Bhikshus, is the Bhikshus resort the realm which is his own by right<sup>6</sup>—it is this the four modes of being mindful and thoughtful<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Thera Gâthâ 501. The Sinhalese supports Mr Trenckner in reading *gīvhāv* in line three but on the other hand has (twice) *mana sâyikam* for *mata sâyikam*. For the last line, of which a literal translation is impossible it says, Let him make his couch on fix his attention on, that Nirvâna which is *mana-sâyika kitta*. I think *mata* is the right reading and that very possibly a riddle or pun is intended on the two meanings of that word.

<sup>2</sup> *Paripâtīyanto*. See above, p 279 of the Pâli and *Gâtaka* II, 208. The Sinhalese p 543 has *he/anulabanneya*.

<sup>3</sup> *Lakusa*. See above, pp 255, 301 of the Pâli and compare the Hindi.

<sup>4</sup> *Hīnaś kumburē* expands all these details.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Samyutta Nikāya* XLVI 7. See Mr Trenckner's note.

<sup>6</sup> The four *Satipaṭṭhāna*s. Compare above, p 343 of the Pâli.

And this too, O king has been said by Sâriputta the Elder, the Commander of the Faith

“ The elephant distinguishes good food  
From bad he knows what gives him sustenance  
And even when asleep he guards his trunk <sup>1</sup>—  
So let each Buddha's son earnest in zeal,  
Never do violence to the Conqueror's word,  
Nor injury to his self possession, best of gifts ”

### 3 THE SQUIRREL

8 Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the squirrel which you say he ought to take which is that ?

Just as the squirrel O king when an enemy falls upon him beats his tail on the ground till it swells, and then with his own tail as a cudgel drives off the foe just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when his enemy sin, falls upon him beat the cudgel of his self-possession till it swells, and then by the cudgel of self possession drive all evil inclinations off This O king is the one quality of the squirrel which he ought to have For it was said O king by Kulla Panthaka the Elder

When sins those fell destroyers of the gains  
Gained by the life of recluse fall on us  
They should be slain, again and yet again,  
By resolute self-possession as a club <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As he does in war according to *Magg/ima* I, 415

<sup>2</sup> Not traced as yet It is not included in the collection of Sâriputta's verses preserved in the *Thera Gâthâ*.

<sup>3</sup> Not in the published texts

4 THE PANTHER (FEMALE)<sup>1</sup>

9 Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the female of the panther which you say he ought to take, which is that ?

‘Just O king as the female of the panther conceives only once and does not resort again and again to the male<sup>2</sup> just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort—seeing how future conceptions and births involve a period of gestation and a fall from each state as it is reached, and dissolution and death and destruction seeing the horrors of transmigration and of rebirths in evil states the annoyance of them the torment of them,—he should stedfastly resolve never to enter upon any future life [369] This O king is the one quality of the female panther which he ought to have For it was said O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods in the Sutta Nipāta, in the Sutta of Dhaniya the cowherd

“Like a strong bull who’s burst the bonds that bound him

Or elephant who’s forced his way through jungle

Thus shall I never more enter the womb—

And now, if it so please you god rain on<sup>3</sup>!

## 5 THE PANTHER (MALE)

10 ‘Venerable Nāgasena those two qualities of the panther which you say he ought to take which are they ?

<sup>1</sup> *Dīpini* perhaps leopardess The Sinhalese has tigress which is certainly wrong

<sup>2</sup> Because it realises the pains and sorrows of cub bearing says the Sinhalese

<sup>3</sup> Sutta Nipāta I, 2, 12

Just, O king as the panther, lying in ambush in wild places, behind a thicket of long grass or brush wood or among the rocks catches the deer, so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort resort to solitary places in the woods, at the foot of a tree on mountain heights in caves and grottoes in cemeteries in forests, under the open sky, on beds of straw in quiet, noiseless spots, free from strong winds and hid from the haunts of men For the strenuous Bhikshu O king earnest in effort who frequents such solitudes, will soon become master of the six forms of transcendent insight This O king is the first of the qualities of the panther he ought to have For it was said, O king, by the Elders who collected the scriptures

‘ As the panther by lying in ambush catches the deer,

So the sons of the Buddha, with insight and earnestness armed

By resorting to solitudes gain that Fruit which is best<sup>1</sup>

11 ‘ And again O king, as the panther whatever may be the beast he has killed will never eat it if it has fallen on the left side, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, not partake of any food that has been procured by gifts of bamboos or palms leaves or flowers, or fruits or baths<sup>2</sup> or chunam, or tooth sticks [370] or water for washing, or by flattery, or by gaining the laity over by sugared

<sup>1</sup> That is, of course, Arahatsip The lines are not to be found in the published texts

<sup>2</sup> Sīnāna dānena omitted by the Sutta Vibhanga and by Hīnañ kumburē (who quotes the Pāli of this passage)



words (literally by pea soup talk), suppressing the truth and suggesting the false<sup>1</sup> or by petting their children<sup>2</sup> or by taking messages as he walks from house to house<sup>3</sup>, or by doctoring them or by acting as a go between or as a messenger on matters of business or ceremony<sup>4</sup> or by exchanging with them things he has received as alms or by giving back again to them as bribes robes or food once given to him<sup>5</sup>, or by giving them hints as to lucky sites or lucky days, or lucky signs (on their children's bodies at birth) or by any other of those wrong modes of obtaining a livelihood that have been condemned by the Buddha<sup>6</sup>—no food so procured should he eat as the panther will not eat any prey that has fallen on its left side. This is the second of the qualities of the panther he ought to have. For it was said O king by Sāriputta the Elder, the Commander of the Faith

This food so sweet has been procured  
Through intimation given by speech  
Were I then to partake thereof,  
My mode of livelihood would be blamed

<sup>1</sup> Muggasuppatā. So Hīnaśīlumburē, p. 546. The Sutta Vibhanga omits both this word and the next

<sup>2</sup> Pāribhāṭakā

<sup>3</sup> Gangha pesaniyena. The Sutta Vibhanga I 185 on which our whole paragraph here is based reads pesanikena. I have differentiated the three sorts of messages according to the Sinhalese

<sup>4</sup> Hīnaśīlumburē both in his transcription of the Pali (p. 546) and in his translation (p. 547) reads pahina gamana

<sup>5</sup> Anuppadāna. Compare Gātaka III, 20. At Sigālovāda Sutta, p. 307, and Milinda, p. 315 it means simply providing a person with things he wants. Childers's rendering giving is inadequate in all the passages

<sup>6</sup> Referring to the Sīlas.

Now though by hunger dire oppressed  
 My stomach seem to rise, to go  
 Ne'er will I break my rule of life  
 Not though my life I sacrifice<sup>1</sup>

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## 6 THE TORTOISE

12 'Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of the tortoise which you say he ought to take what are they?

'Just, O king as the tortoise, which is a water animal keeps to the water, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort let his heart go out over the whole wide world with pity and with love—mighty, abounding beyond measure, free from every feeling of hatred or of malice—towards all creatures that have life<sup>2</sup> This O king is the first of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have

13 'And again O king just as the tortoise when as he swims on the water and raises his head, he catches sight of any one that moment sinks, and dives into the depths lest they should see him again just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort when evil inclinations fall upon him sink into the waters of meditation dive down into the deeps thereof, lest those evil inclinations should catch sight of him again This, O king is the

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<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet Hīnaśī kumburē gives a long account of the circumstances under which these verses were spoken. Sāriputta was ill. Moggallāna asked him what would be good for him to take Sāriputta told him His friend then by intervention of the king of the gods, procured it But Sāriputta refused to make use of it.

<sup>2</sup> The Brahma vihāras (Nos. 1 and 2) See Buddhist Suttas, p. 201

second of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have

14 [371] 'And again, O king just as the tortoise gets up out of the water, and suns himself just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort when he rouses himself (withdraws his mind) out of meditation—whether taken sitting or lying down, or standing or walking up and down,—sun his mind in the Great Struggle against evil dispositions This, O king is the third of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have

15 'And again, O king just as the tortoise digging a hole in the ground dwells alone just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, giving up worldly gain and honour and praise take up his abode alone plunging into the solitudes of empty lonely places in the groves and woods and hills, in caves and grottoes noiseless and quiet This O king is the fourth of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have For it was said O king by Upasena the Elder of the sons of the Vangantas

“Lonely and quiet places haunts  
Of the deer and of wild beasts,  
Should the Bhikshu seek as his abode  
For solitude's sweet sake<sup>1</sup>

16 And again O king, as the tortoise when on his rounds he sees any one draws in at once all his head and limbs into his shell and hiding them there keeps still in silence to save himself, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, wheresoever forms, or sounds or odours or tastes,

<sup>1</sup> Thera Gāthā 577

or feelings strike upon him shut to the gate of self restraint at the six doors of his senses cover up his mind in self control and continue constant in mindfulness and thoughtfulness to save his Samāṇa ship This O king, is the fifth of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have. For it was said, O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods in the most excellent Saṃyutta Nikāya, in the Sutta of the parable of the tortoise

As the tortoise withdraws his limbs in his shell  
 Let the Bhikṣu bury the thoughts of his mind  
 Himself Independent, injuring none  
 Set free himself speaking evil of none<sup>1</sup>

## 7 THE BAMBOO

17 [372] Venerable Nāgasena that one quality of the bamboo which you say he ought to take, which is it?

Just, O king as the bamboo whithersoever the gale blows, to that quarter does it bend accordingly pursuing no other way of its own just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikṣu earnest in effort conduct himself in accordance with the ninefold teaching of the Master, the word of the Buddha the Blessed One and steadfastly keeping to all things lawful and blameless he should seek after the qualities of the Samāṇaship itself This O king is the one quality of the bamboo he ought to have For it was said, O king by Rāhula, the Elder

<sup>1</sup> The parable is in the 46th Saṃyutta. The verses are already published at vol. 1 p. 7 of M. Feer's edition for the Pāli Text Society

‘In accord alway with Buddha’s ninefold word  
And stedfast in all lawful blameless acts  
I have passed beyond rebirth in evil states<sup>1</sup>

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### 8 THE BOW

18 Venerable Nāgasena that one quality of the bow which you say he ought to have, which is it?

Just, O king, as a well made and balanced bow bends equally from end to end and does not resist stiffly, like a post just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort bend easily in accord with all his brethren—whether elders juniors of medium seniority or of like standing with himself—and not repel them. This O king, is the one quality of the bow he ought to have. For it was said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods in the *Vidhura Punnaka Gāṭaka*

‘Let the wise bend as the bow, yield as the reed,  
Not be contrary. He shall dwell in the home of  
kings<sup>2</sup>’

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### 9 THE CROW

19 ‘Venerable Nāgasena those two qualities of the crow that you say he ought to take, which are they?’

Just, O king, as the crow goes about full of apprehension and suspicion, [373] always on watch and guard just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, go about full of apprehension and suspicion, always on watch and guard

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<sup>1</sup> Not traced as vet. *Hīnaṁ kumburē* reads *samuttarim*

<sup>2</sup> *Gāṭaka*, No 545 ver c 159

n full self possession with his senses under control  
This O king is the first of the qualities of the crow  
he ought to have

20 And again, O king as the crow whatever  
food he catches sight of eats it sharing with his  
kind, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu,  
earnest in effort, never omit to share with virtuous  
co religionists and that without distinction of person  
or deliberation as to quantity<sup>1</sup> whatever lawful gifts  
he may have lawfully received down even to the  
contents of his begging-bowl This O king is the  
second of the qualities of the crow he ought to have.  
For it was said, O king by Sâriputta the Elder the  
Commander of the Faith

Whateer they may present to me austere in life  
All that just as it comes do I divide  
With all, and I myself then take my food<sup>2</sup>

#### 10 THE MONKEY

21 Venerable Nâgasena those two qualities of  
the monkey which you say he ought to have which  
are they?

Just, O king as the monkey when about to take  
up his abode does so in some such place as a mighty  
tree, in a lonely place covered all over with branches,  
a sure place of refuge just so O king should the  
strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, choose as the  
teacher under whom to live a man modest, amiable,  
righteous of beauty of character, learned in tradition  
and in the scriptures lovable, venerable worthy of

<sup>1</sup> So Hinañi kumburê understands this, his version agreeing with  
the quotation given by Mr Trenckner from Buddhaghosa.

<sup>2</sup> Not traced as yet.

reverence a speaker of profitable things meek, clever in admonition in instruction, and in education, able to arouse to incite, to gladden<sup>1</sup>—such a friend should he choose as teacher This O king is the first of the qualities of the monkey he ought to have

22 ' And again O king, as the monkey wanders about and stands and sits always on trees and if he goes to sleep spends the night on them just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort stand and walk up and down thinking [374] and lie down, and sleep in the forest and there enjoy the sense of self possession This, O king is the second of the qualities of the monkey he ought to have For it has been said, O king by Sariputta the Elder, the Commander of the Faith

Walking, or standing sitting lying down  
Tis in the forest that the Bhikshu shines  
To dwell in wildernesses far remote  
Has been exalted by the Buddhas all '

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Here ends the First Chapter<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the last six words none of which are in Childers see *Maggħima Nikaya* I 145 6 and below, VII 2 20

<sup>2</sup> Not traced as yet

<sup>3</sup> The Kambojan MS in the library of Trinity College Cambridge ends here

## BOOK VII CHAPTER 2

## THE SIMILES (continued)

## II THE GOURD

I Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the gourd which you say he ought to take, which is it ?

‘ Just O king, as the gourd, climbing up with its tendrils <sup>1</sup> on to some other plant—whether a grass or a thorn, or a creeper—grows all over it just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort who desires to grow up into Arahatsip do so by climbing up with his mind over the ideas that present themselves (as subjects for the Kamma-ttâna meditations) This O king is the one quality of the gourd which he ought to have For it was said O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith

As the gourd, clambering up with its tendrils  
grows

O er the grass, or the thorn bush or creeper wide  
spread

So the son of the Buddha on Ar’hatship bent  
Climbs up o er ideas, to perfection and peace <sup>2</sup> ’

<sup>1</sup> *Sondikâhi* which must mean here the tentacles or feelers of the gourd-creeper The Sinhalese has simply *Sondim* I have only found the word elsewhere in the connection *Sondikâ kilanigâ* at *Maggima* I, 228 and *Samyutta* IV 1 6, 4

<sup>2</sup> Not traced as yet. The last line is literally By climbing up on the ârammas should grow in the Fruit of those who have nothing left to learn (that is, in Arahatsip)



## 12 THE LOTUS

2 Venerable Nāgasena those three qualities of the lotus which you say he ought to take, which are they?

[375] 'Just O king as the lotus though it is born in the water, and grows up in the water yet remains undefiled by the water (for no water adheres to it) just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort remain undefiled by the support that he receives or by the following of disciples that he obtains or by fame, or by honour or by veneration or by the abundance of the requisites that he enjoys This, O king is the first of the qualities of the lotus that he ought to have

3 'And again O king as the lotus remains lifted up far above the water just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort remain far above all worldly things This, O king is the second of the qualities of the lotus that he ought to have

4 'And again O king as the lotus trembles when blown upon by the slightest breeze just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort exercise self control in respect of the least of the evil dispositions perceiving the danger (in the least offence) This O king is the third of the qualities of the lotus he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

'Seeing danger in the least offence he takes upon himself trains himself in the precepts<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Viggghama Nikaya* I 33 *Digha* II 4 &c

## 13 THE SEED

5 Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of seed which you say he ought to have which are they ?

'Just O king as seed tiny though it be, yet if sown in good soil and if the god rains aright, will give abundant fruit just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort so conduct himself aright that the righteousness of his life may give abundantly of the fruits of Samanaship This O king is the first quality of seed which he ought to have

6 'And again, O king as seed planted in well weeded soil comes quickly to maturity, just so O king will his mind, when well mastered<sup>1</sup>, and well-purified in solitude if it be cast by the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort into the excellent field of self possession come quickly to maturity This, O king is the second quality of seed which he ought to have [376] For it was said, O king, by Anuruddha, the Elder

"If seed be sown on a well-weeded field,  
Its fruit abounding will rejoice the sower  
So the recluse's heart in solitude made pure,  
Matures full fast in self possession's field<sup>2</sup>

## 14 THE SAL-TREE.

7 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the Sal-tree which you say he ought to take, which is it ?

<sup>1</sup> Supariggahitam which the Sinhalese p 553 omits

<sup>2</sup> Not in the published texts.

Just O king, as the Sal-tree grows within the ground to the depth of a hundred cubits or more just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, perfect in solitude the four Fruits of Samanaship, the four Discriminations the six forms of transcendental Insight, and all the qualities befitting a recluse. This O king, is the one quality of the Sal tree he ought to have For it was said O king, by Râhula, the Elder

The tree that's called the Sal tree grows above the earth,

And shoots beneath a hundred cubits deep

As in the fullness of time, and at its highest growth

That tree shoots in one day<sup>1</sup> a hundred cubits high

Just so do I O Buddha like the Sal

Increase, in solitude in inward good

### 15 THE SHIP

8 'Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the ship that you say he ought to take, which are they?

Just, O king, as a ship, by the combination of the quantity of the different kinds of timber of which it is composed, conveys many folk across, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cross the whole world of existence whether in heaven, or on earth, by the combination of a number of qualities arising out of good conduct, righteousness, virtue, and the performance of duty

<sup>1</sup> Ekâham I follow the Sinhalese (*eka divasim*), but confess myself very doubtful as to this being the meaning intended by the author

This O king is the first of the qualities of a ship he ought to have

9 And again O king just as a ship [377] can bear the onslaught of various thundering waves and of far reaching whirlpools, so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be able to bear the onslaught of the waves of various evil inclinations, and the onslaught of the waves of varied evils—veneration and contempt, support and honour praise and exaltation offerings and homage, blame and commendation in families not his own. This, O king is the second of the qualities of the ship he ought to have

10 And again O king, as the ship journeys over the great ocean, immeasurable and infinite though it be, without a further shore unshaken in its depths roaring with a mighty noise, and filled with crowds of fish and monsters and dragons of all sorts, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make his mind journey through to penetration into the four Truths in their triple order in their twelvefold form<sup>1</sup> This, O king is the third of the qualities of the ship he ought to have For it was said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikâya in the Samyutta on the Truths<sup>2</sup>

‘Whenever you are thinking, O Bhikkhus you should think Such is sorrow,—you should think Such is the origin of sorrow,—you should think Such is the end of sorrow,—you should think Such is the path that leads to the end of sorrow

<sup>1</sup> See ‘Buddhist Suttas pp. 150–152 and especially § 21 from which the expressions here used are taken.

<sup>2</sup> This is the 55th Samyutta.

## 16 THE ANCHOR

11 'Venerable Nagasena, those two qualities of the anchor which you say he ought to take which are they ?

'Just, O king as the anchor, even in the mighty sea in the expanse of waters agitated by the crowding of ever varying waves will fasten the ship, and keep it still, not letting the sea take it in one direction or another, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort keep his mind stedfast in the mighty struggle of thoughts in the waters of the waves of lust and malice and dullness not letting them divert it in one direction or another This, O king is the first quality of the anchor he ought to have

12 And again, O king as the anchor floats not, but sinks down and even in water a hundred cubits deep holds the ship fast, brings it to rest, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort when he receives support, and fame, and honour, and veneration, and reverence and offerings and praise [378] be not lifted up on the summit of the support or the fame but keep his mind fixed on the idea of merely keeping his body alive This O king is the second quality of the anchor he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta the Elder, the Commander of the Faith

'As the anchor floats not, but sinks down beneath the waves

So be abased, not lifted up by praise or gifts<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.

## 17 THE MAST

13 Venerable Nāgasena that one quality of the mast which you say he ought to take which is it?

‘Just, O king, as the mast carries ropes and braces and sails<sup>1</sup>, just so should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, always have mindfulness and self-possession—when going out or coming back when looking ahead or looking round when stretching forth his arm or bending it back, when wearing clothes or carrying his bowl when eating or drinking or swallowing or tasting, when easing himself or walking or standing or sitting, when asleep or awake when talking and when silent, never should he lose his mindfulness and self-possession. This, O king, is the one quality of the mast he ought to have<sup>2</sup> For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

“Mindful, my brethren, should the Bhikshu remain, and self-possessed This is my instruction to you<sup>3</sup>”

## 18 THE PILOT

14. ‘Venerable Nāgasena those three qualities of the pilot which you say he ought to take which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as the pilot, day and night, with

<sup>1</sup> Lakāra. Childers says ‘a part of a ship, Dr Morris ( Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1884 p. 101, note) says a chain attached to a well. I follow the Sinhalese p. 556 which has ruwala See Gāṭaka II, 112 and compare IV, 21

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese has here a page of matter not found in the Pāli.

<sup>3</sup> Dīgha Nikāya XVI, 2, 12

continuous and unceasing zeal and effort, navigates<sup>1</sup> his ship, just so O king does the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort when regulating his mind continue night and day unceasingly zealous and earnest in regulating his mind by careful thought. This, O king is the one quality of the pilot he ought to have. For it was said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods, in the Dhamma pada (the Collection of scripture verses)

Be full of zeal, watch over your own thoughts,  
 Raise yourselves up out of the slough of endless  
 births,  
 As the strong elephant engulfed in depths of  
 mud<sup>2</sup> '

[379] 15 'And again O king as the pilot knows all that is in the sea, whether good or bad, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort know good from evil<sup>1</sup> and what is an offence from what is not, and what is mean from what is exalted and what is dark from what is light. This O king, is the second quality of the pilot he ought to have

16 'And again O king as the pilot puts a seal on the steering apparatus<sup>2</sup> lest any one should touch it so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort put the seal of self-control on his heart lest any evil or wrong thoughts should arise within it. This is the third quality of the pilot he ought to have. For it was said O king by the

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Sareti 'mikes go Not in Childers but see Anguttara Nikaya III 3, 4 and compare Kullavagga V, 11, 2

<sup>1</sup> Dharmmapada verse 327

<sup>2</sup> Yanta which the Sinhalese renders yantra (p 559)

Blessed One the god over all gods in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikâya*

Think, O Bhikshus no evil or wrong thoughts such as thoughts of lust, or of malice or of delusion<sup>1</sup>

### 19 THE SAILOR<sup>2</sup>

17 Venerable Nâgasena that one quality of the sailor which you say he ought to take which is it?

'Just as the sailor on board ship O king thinks thus I am a hireling and am working for my wage on board this ship By means of this ship is it that I get food and clothing I must not be lazy, but zealously navigate the ship,' just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort think thus Gaining a thorough knowledge of this body of mine put together of the four elements, continuously and unceasingly will I be self possessed in mindfulness and thoughtfulness, and tranquil and peaceful will exert myself to be set free from births old age disease and death, grief, lamentation, sorrow suffering, and despair This, O king, is the one quality of the sailor he ought to have For it was said O king by Sâriputta the Elder the Commander of the Faith

Understand what the body is, realise that again and again

Seeing the nature of the body put an end to grief<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Samyutta* LV 7

<sup>2</sup> *Kammakaro*. *Hīnari kumburê* translates this 'handyman artisan, ship & carpenter'

<sup>3</sup> Not traced as yet



## 20 THE SEA

18 [380] 'Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of the sea you say he ought to take, which are they?

'Just, O king, as the sea brooks no contact with a corpse<sup>1</sup>, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, brook no association with the stains of evil—lust and malice and dullness and pride and delusion, concealing the faults one has and claiming virtues one has not<sup>2</sup>, envy and avarice, deceit and treachery and trickiness, wickedness and sinful ness of life. This, O king is the first quality of the sea he ought to have

19 And again O king just as the sea carries within it stores of all kinds of gems—pearls and diamonds and cat's eyes, and chank shells and quartz<sup>3</sup> and coral and crystal, but conceals them all, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort though he have attained to the various gems of character—the Path and the Fruits

<sup>1</sup> This curious belief has been made use of above I, 259 of the translation. See also *Divyavadāna* p 234

<sup>2</sup> Makkho and pālāso, 'hypocrisy and conceit. See the notes above on IV 8 23

<sup>3</sup> Silā. Mr Trenckner prints the passage as if *sankhasilā* were to be taken together. But the use of the nominatives *sankho silā* in the corresponding list at *Kullavagga* IV 1 3 4 shows that by *silā* rock some kind of gem is meant. And that our author does not intend to deviate from the earlier authority is clear from his own work (above p 26, of the Pali) where he also gives the two nominatives in a similar though longer list of gems. What may be the particular gem referred to under the name rock is doubtful. *Hinasi kumbure* p 561, merely repeats the word *silā*, and Clough besides rock gives as special meaning only arsenic. At *Kullavagga* (*Vinaya Texts* III, 304) I have rendered it rock, but 'quartz' now seems to me preferable

thereof and the four *Ghānas* and the eight *Vi-mokkhas*, and *Samādhi* and the five Attainments (forms of ecstatic contemplation and Insight) and the six forms of Transcendental Knowledge<sup>1</sup>—conceal them and not bring them to the light. This, O king, is the second quality of the sea he ought to have

20 And again O king just as the sea associates with mighty creatures, just so O king should the strenuous *Bhikshu*, earnest in effort, associate himself with a fellow disciple who desires little and is contented who is pure in speech<sup>2</sup> whose conduct is directed to the eradication of evil who is given to righteousness modest, amiable, dignified venerable a speaker of profitable words, meek, one who will point out his associate's faults and blame him when he does wrong clever in admonition in instruction and in education, able to arouse to incite and to gladden—with such a man as a friend in righteousness should he dwell This, O king is the third quality of the sea he ought to have

21 And again O king as the sea though filled with the fresh water brought down by the Ganges and the Jumna and the *Aśiravati*, and the *Sarabhū* and the *Mahī* and by other rivers a hundred thousand in number, and by the rains of heaven, yet

<sup>1</sup> It is very characteristic of our author that his interpretation of the gems into ethical conceptions is quite different from that of the *Kullavagga*, and much more mystic. In the older passage they are translated into the seven constituent characteristics of Arāhatship. (See 'Vinaya Texts, loc. cit., p. 305.) Compare also *Dīvyāvadāna*, pp 115, 229

<sup>2</sup> *Dhuta vādo*, not in Childers and only found here. Perhaps who inculcates the keeping of the extra vows. *Dhutaṅga-wādi wā*, says *Ellenā-kumburē*, p 561

never overflows its shore just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort never consciously transgress the precepts for the sake of support or fame or praise or salutations or reverence or honour—no! not even for his life. This O king is the fourth of the qualities of the sea he ought to have. [381] For it was said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods<sup>1</sup>

Just O king as the great ocean has fixity as its characteristic and never overflows its shores just so O king, should my disciples never overstep the regulations I have laid down for them—no! not even to save themselves alive

22 And again O king as the sea is not filled even by all the rivers—the Ganges and the Jumna and the *Āmravati* and the *Sarabhu*, and the *Mahī*—nor by the rains from heaven just so O king should

<sup>1</sup> *Devâtidevena* It is not known when this epithet which our author so constantly applies to the Buddha first came into use. It is not found in the *Piṭakas* and the *Milinda* is the oldest book in which it has been traced. It is given in the *Mahāvastu* (p. 1) as a recognised epithet but not in the corresponding Pāli list of epithets in the *Abhidhāra Padīpikā* (though *deva deva* occurs here). The origin of the appellation is solemnly explained in the *Divyavadāna* p. 391. It is there said to have been first bestowed on the Buddha (when as a child he was presented in the temple) because all the gods bowed down before him. There is nothing about this in the corresponding passage of the *Lamba Vastara* pp. 136–138. The epithet is used of the Buddha in an inscription of *Toramana Shāhi* (*Epigraphia Indica* for October 1889). It occurs also in a verse preserved in the commentaries on the *Dhammapada* and the *Gāthā* (*Gāthā* IV 158 = *Dhammapada* 148)—a verse not found in the *Piṭaka* versions of the same episode—and is used in a kind of pun in the *Mahāvamsa*, chap. 1 verse 56. But these three passages are all of the fifth century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Not traced as yet. A similar parable is used at the passage already quoted from the *Kullavagga* IX, 1.3.4

the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort never be satisfied with receiving instruction, with asking and answering questions, with listening to the word, and learning it by heart and examining into it, with hearing the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya, and the deep sayings of the Suttas with analysis of forms with learning the rules of right composition conjunction and grammatical construction<sup>1</sup>, with listening to the ninefold teaching of the Conqueror This O king is the fifth quality of the sea he ought to have For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutasoma Gâtaka<sup>2</sup>

Just as the fire, in burning grass and sticks,  
Is never satisfied, nor the great sea  
Filled with the waters of all streams that flow—  
So are these students wise, O king of kings,  
Listening ne'er sated with the words of truth<sup>3</sup>

### Here ends the Second Chapter

<sup>1</sup> The translation is here doubtful The Sinhalese apparently takes viggaha as qualifying pada, though it renders the whole by learning the rules of resolving words into their elements, and of building them up into compounds and of Sandhi, and of conjugation and of declension

<sup>2</sup> Not reached as yet in Professor Fausbøll's edition Mr Trenckner says the verse quoted is No 47 in the 537th Gâtaka.

<sup>3</sup> The Sinhalese reads *Evam hi me* for *Evam hi me* and renders 'listening to me.' Mr Trenckner points out that the Gâtaka MSS. read *Evam pi te*.

## BOOK VII CHAPTER 3

## THE SIMILES (continued)

## 21 THE EARTH

1 [382] 'Venerable Nagasena, those five qualities of the earth which you say he ought to take, which are they ?'

'Just, O king as the earth remains just the same whether one scatter upon it desirable things or the reverse—whether camphor and aloes and jasmine and sandal wood and saffron or whether bile and phlegm and pus and blood and sweat and fat and saliva and mucus and the fluid which lubricates the joints and urine and faeces—still it is the same just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, remain the same unmoved at support or neglect, at fame or dishonour, at blame or praise in happiness or in woe This, O king is the first of the qualities of the earth he ought to have

2 And again O king, as the earth has no adornment, no garlands but is suffused with the odour of itself just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, wear no finery, but rather be set round with the sweet savour of his own righteousness of life This, O king, is the second quality of the earth he ought to have

3. 'And again, O king, as the earth is solid, without holes or interstices, thick, dense, and spreads itself out on every side, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be endowed with an unbroken righteousness of life with no gaps

or cracks in it thick dense, and spreading itself out on every side This, O king, is the third quality of the earth he ought to have

4 And again O king, as the earth is never weary though it bears up the villages and towns and cities and countries the trees and hills and rivers and ponds and lakes the wild creatures and birds and men multitudes of men and women just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be never weary in giving exhortation and admonition and instruction and education, in rousing and inciting and gladdening and at the expositions of the faith This O king, is the fourth quality of the earth he ought to have.

5 ' And again, O king, as the earth is free alike from fawning and from ill will<sup>1</sup>, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort continue in spirit, like the earth, free alike from fawning upon any man, from ill-will to any man This is the fifth quality of the earth he ought to have [383] For it was said, O king by the devoted woman, Kulla Subhadda, when she was exalting the recluses of her own sect<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This simile has already occurred above I 258 259 (of the translation)

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese (pp 563 564) gives the whole story She was the daughter of Anāthapīṇḍika (Sudatta) the famous supporter of the Buddha, and builder of the Getavana at Sāvātthi On her marriage to a rich merchant at Saketa (Audh) named Kālaka he invited the Brahman naked ascetics of his sect the Āgīvakas and asked her to go and entertain the Arahats Hearing the word Arahats she went quickly and full of delight to do so, and was shocked beyond measure to find a number of disorderly fakirs with neither modesty in their hearts, nor decency in their outward behaviour. So she fled from the hall, and on her husband remonstrating, was indignant. He then asked her what the recluses

Were one enraged to cut their one arm with an  
axe,  
Another pleased to anoint the other with sweet  
scent  
No ill will would they bear the one nor love the  
other  
Their hearts are like the earth, unmoved are my  
recluses<sup>1</sup>

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## 22 WATER

6 Venerable Nāgasena the five qualities of water which you say he ought to take, which are they ?'

Just O king as water is firmly fixed (in pools wells &c) shakes not, and (in its ordinary state) is not disturbed, and is pure by nature, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort putting away hypocrisy and whining and intimating their wants and improper influences of all sorts be fixed unshaken undisturbed, and pure in nature This O king is the first quality of water he ought to have

7 And again O king as water is always of a refreshing nature just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort be full of pity, and love, and kindness to all beings seeking the good of all in mercy to all This O king, is the second quality of water he ought to have

8 And again O king as water makes the dirty clean, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu,

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of her sect were like, and she told him Another verse from her description is quoted below p 387 of the Pali The above story has been often repeated

<sup>1</sup> Not traced. H'nañ kumburê reads ekañ ke bâham (twice) and manaso, paṃodito and he is no doubt right.

earnest in effort be in all places whether in the village or in the forest free from disputes with, free from offence against his teachers his masters or those standing towards him like a teacher This O king, is the third quality of water he ought to have

9 'And again O king as water is desired of all men, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort wishing for little content given to solitude and retirement, be always an object of desire to all the world This, O king is the fourth quality of water he ought to have

10 And again O king, as water works no harm to any man, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort never do any wrong, whether in deed or word or thought which would produce in others either strife, or quarrel, or contention, or dispute or a feeling of emptiness, or anger<sup>1</sup>, or discontent. [384] This, O king, is the fifth quality of water he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the *Kanha Gâtaka*<sup>2</sup>

"If you would grant a boon to me  
O Sakka, lord of every creature,—  
Let none, Sakka, on my account,  
Be harmed, whether in mind or body  
At any time or place. This, Sakka  
This would I choose as boon of boons"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rittaggâna* which *Hinari-kumburâ* renders *sîsua kîpîma*.

<sup>2</sup> These words are in the original ascribed, not to the Buddha himself, but to *Kanha-kumâro*, the then Bodisat.

<sup>3</sup> *Gâtaka* IV, 14. Professor Fausbøll reads *mam kaṭe* but the *Sinhalese* (pp. 566, 567) confirms Mr Trenckner's reading, *mam kâna mam nissâya, mam anatîha-kâmatâya*.



## 23 FIRE.

11 Venerable Nāgasena those five qualities of fire which you say he ought to take which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as fire burns grass and sticks and branches, and leaves just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort burn out in the fire of wisdom all evil dispositions which feed on objects of thought whether subjective or objective whether desirable or the reverse This, O king is the first quality of fire he ought to have

12 And again, O king as fire has no pity neither mercy just so, O king, should, the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, show no pity neither mercy, to any evil dispositions This O king, is the second quality of fire he ought to have.

13 ‘And again, O king as fire destroys cold, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, lighting up in his heart the burning fire of zeal destroy all evil dispositions therein This, O king is the third quality of fire he ought to have

14 ‘And again, O king as fire seeking no favour of any man, bearing no ill will to any man, makes heat for all just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, dwell in spirit like the fire, fawning on none, bearing ill will to none This, O king, is the fourth quality of fire he ought to have

15 ‘And again, O king as fire dispels darkness and makes the light appear, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, dispel the

darkness of ignorance and make the light of knowledge to appear This is the fifth quality of fire he ought to have For it was said O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods in his exhortation to Râhula his son

[385] Practise thyself Râhula in that meditation which acts like fire Thereby shall no wrong dispositions which have not yet arisen arise within thee nor shall they that have arisen bear sway over thy heart<sup>1</sup>

## 24 WIND

16 Venerable Nâgasena those five qualities of wind which you say he ought to take which are they?

Just, O king as wind pervades the spaces in the woods and groves in flowering time, so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort rejoice in the groves of meditation that are all in blossom with the sweet flowers of emancipation This O king is the first quality of wind he ought to have

17 And again O king, as wind sets all the trees that grow upon the earth in agitation bends them

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<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet exactly in these words But the passage at *Maggâhîma Nikaya* I 424 lines 3-6 agrees with it throughout except that for *akusalâ dhammâ* here we have there *manapâ manâpâ phassâ*, which comes to much the same thing As the words are there addressed to Râhula, and as our passage here is introduced with the same formula as the quotation below (p 388 of the Pâli) which is certainly taken from the same page of the *Maggâhîma*, I think the above (M I, 424 lines 3-6) is most probably the passage our author now intended to quote If so we have here a real case of difference in reading

down just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort retiring into the midst of the woods there examining into the true nature of all existing things (all phenomena Samkhâras) beat down all evil dispositions This O king is the second quality of wind he ought to have

18 And again O king as the wind wanders through the sky just so O king should, the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort accustom his mind to wander among transcendental things This is the third quality of wind he ought to have

19 'And again O king as wind carries perfume along, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, carry along with him alway the fragrant perfume of his own righteousness of life. This O king is the fourth quality of wind he ought to have

20 'And again O king as wind has no house no home to dwell in, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort remain alway without a house without a home to dwell in not addicted to society, set free in mind This O king is the fifth quality of wind he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods in the Sutta Nipâta

In friendship of the world anxiety is born,  
In household life distraction's dust lies thick,  
The state set free from home and friendship  
ties—

That, and that only, is the recluse's aim<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sutta Nipâta I 12, 1 It has been already quoted above, IV, 5, 1 (p 21 of the Pâli), where see the note

## 25 THE ROCK

21 'Venerable Nāgasena, the five qualities of the rock that you say he ought to have, which are they ?

[386] 'Just O king, as rock is firm, unshaken immoveable, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort never be excited by alluring things—forms or sounds or scents or tastes, or touch—by veneration or contempt, by support or by neglect by reverence or its absence, by honour or dishonour, by praise or blame nor should he be offended by things that give offence nor bewildered on occasions of bewilderment, neither should he quake nor tremble but like a rock should he be firm This, O king, is the first quality of the rock he ought to have For it was said O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

' The solid rock s not shaken by the wind  
Just so the wise man falters not, nor shakes,  
At praise or blame<sup>1</sup>

22 And again O king, as a rock is firm, unmixed with extraneous things, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be firm and independent, given to association with none. This, O king is the second quality of the rock he ought to have For it was said O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

The man who mixes not with householders,  
Nor with the homeless but who wanders lone,  
Without a home, and touched by few desires,—  
That is the man I call a Brāhmaṇa<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dhammapada 81 The first line recurs at Mahāvagga V 1 27

<sup>2</sup> From the Sutta Nipāta III, 9, 35. It is also included in the Dhammapada collection of Scripture verses (No. 404).

23 And again, O king, as on the rock no seed will take root just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort never permit evil dispositions to take root in his mind This O king is the third quality of rock that he ought to have. For it was said O king by Subhûti, the Elder

' When lustful thoughts arise within my heart  
Examining myself alone I beat them down.  
Thou who art by lust excited, who by things  
That give offence, allowest of offence,  
Feeling bewildered when strange things occur,  
Thou shouldst retire far from the lonely woods  
For they re the dwelling-place of men made pure,  
Austere in life, free from the stains of sin.  
Defile not that pure place Leave thou the  
woods <sup>1</sup>

24 [387] And again just as the rock rises aloft, just so should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, rise aloft through knowledge. This is the fourth quality of the rock he ought to have For it was said O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

When the wise man by earnestness has driven  
Vanity far away, the terraced heights  
Of wisdom doth he climb, and, free from care  
Looks over the vain world, the careworn crowd—  
As he who standing on the mountain top  
Can watch his fellow men still toiling on the  
plain <sup>2</sup>

25 ' And again, O king, just as the rock cannot

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.

<sup>2</sup> This verse not traced elsewhere as yet, is included in the Dhammapada collection as verse 28.

be lifted up nor bent down, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be neither lifted up nor depressed. This O king, is the fifth quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said O king by the devout woman Kulla Subhaddâ when she was exalting the recluses of her own sect

The world is lifted up by gain depressed by loss

My Samanas remain alike in gain or loss "

## 26 SPACE

26 'Venerable Nâgasena those five qualities of space which you say he ought to have which are they ?

Just, O king as space is everywhere impossible to grasp just so, O king, should it be impossible for the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, to be anywhere taken hold of by evil dispositions. This O king is the first quality of space he ought to have

27 And again, O king as space is the familiar resort of Rishis and ascetics, and gods<sup>1</sup> and flocks of birds just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort make his mind wander easily over all things with the knowledge that each individual (Samkhara) is impermanent, born to sorrow, and without any abiding principle (any soul). This, O king, is the second quality of space he ought to have.

<sup>1</sup> Bhûta, which the Sinhalese, p 572 renders yaksha. I think it means all kinds of gods (except the highest), demigods, faeries, superhuman beings, &c

28 'And again O king, as space inspires terror just so, O king [388] should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort train his mind to be in terror of rebirths in any kind of existence To seek no happiness therein This, O king is the third quality of space he ought to have

29 'And again O king as space is infinite boundless, immeasurable, just so O king should the righteousness of the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort know no limit and his knowledge be beyond measure This O king is the fourth quality of space he ought to have

30 And again, O king, as space does not hang on to anything does not cling to anything does not rest on anything is not stopped by anything, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, neither in any way depend on nor cling to nor rest on nor be hindered by either the families that minister to him or the pupils who resort to him or the support he receives, or the dwelling he occupies or any obstacles to the religious life, or any requisites that he may want, or any kind of evil inclination This O king, is the fifth quality of space he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in his exhortation to Râhula, his son

Just Râhula as space rests nowhere on anything, so shouldst thou practise thyself in that meditation which is like space Thereby shall neither pleasant nor unpleasant sensations as they severally arise bear sway over thy heart<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Magghama Nikâya* I, 424. See the note above on VII 3 15

## 27 THE MOON

31 'Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of the moon which you say he ought to have which are they?'

'Just O king, as the moon rising in the bright fortnight, waxes more and more, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, grow more and more in good conduct and righteousness and virtue and the constant performance of duty, and in knowledge of the scriptures and study<sup>1</sup> and in the habit of retirement, and in self possession and in keeping the doors of his senses guarded and in moderation in food, and in the practice of vigils. This O king, is the first quality of the moon he ought to have

32 And again O king as the moon is a mighty lord<sup>2</sup> just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be a mighty lord over his own will

<sup>1</sup> Âgamâdhigame. These are two not one. Âgama adhi gama dekhi da says the Sinhalese p. 573.

<sup>2</sup> U/âràdhpati. Dr Morris in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society (1880, p. 107) ingeniously proposes to read u/urâgâdhpati, king and lord over the u/u s, the lunar mansions.' In that case the u/âra in the latter clause of the sentence would be a play upon words. But Mr Trenckner's reading is confirmed by the Sinhalese, which has kandra diwya-râga tema mahatwâ sîsira-guwayem adhipatî wâyea, 'the moon that heavenly king is a lord by reason of his great coldness.' And the reading may well stand, for the mention, in the latter part of the clause, of the thing over which the Bhikshu is to be lord does not necessarily require a corresponding word in the first part. We have numerous instances in these smiles of the ethical interpretation of the physical smile being an addition, with nothing corresponding to it in the type discussed. The moon was a god, lord over other things besides the lunar mansions.



This O king, is the second quality of the moon he ought to have

33 And again, O king as the moon wanders at night, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be given to solitude. [389] This O king is the third quality of the moon he ought to have

34 And again, O king as the moon hoists a standard over his mansion<sup>1</sup> just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, hoist the standard of righteousness. This O king is the fourth quality of the moon he ought to have

35 'And again O king as the moon rises when begged and prayed to do so, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort frequent for alms those families who have asked and invited him to do so<sup>2</sup> This, O king is the fifth quality of the moon he ought to have. For it was said, O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods, in the most excellent Samyutta Nikāya

"Like the moon O brethren, let your visits be paid to the laity Drawing back alike in outward demeanour and in inward spirit be ye always, as strangers on their first visit retiring in the presence of the laity [As the man who looks down a deep

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*Kando vimāna-ketu* 'Has his mansion forty-nine yoganas in extent as his banner says *Hīnaśi-kumburē* (A *yogana* is seven miles.) *Vimāna* does not mean lunar mansion, but the palace which every deity, and therefore also the moon, is supposed to inhabit.

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese, p. 573 has the exact opposite. As the moon rises whether begged to do so or not, so should the Bhikshu visit the laity whether invited to do so or not. But the Pāli must be right, as the subsequent quotation shows.

well or a mountain precipice, or a river in flood would be abashed alike in body and in mind so be ye O brethren as the moon in your visits to the laity Holding alike in your outward demeanour and your inward spirit, be ye alway, as strangers on their first visit, retiring in the presence of the laity]<sup>1</sup>

## 28 THE SUN

36 Venerable Nāgasena the seven qualities of the sun you say he ought to have which are they?

Just O king as the sun evaporates all water just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort cause all evil inclinations without any exception to dry up within him This O king, is the first quality of the sun he ought to have

37 And again O king as the sun dispels the darkness, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort dispel all the darkness of lust and of anger and of dullness, and of pride and of heresy and of evil and of all unrighteousness This, O king is the second quality of the sun he ought to have

38 And again O king, as the sun is always in motion, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort be ever thoughtful This

<sup>1</sup> Samyutta XVI 3 2 3 The sentence in brackets is added from Hīnaśī kumburē, who gives here p 2/4 the Pāli text *Apa kassa* the gerund of *ava karsh*, and *naviyā* new comers are only found in this passage In three cases M Léon Feer has here gone wrong as he has so often elsewh re done by putting the readings of the Sinhalese MSS only in the notes and adopting the Burmese readings in the text He should have read as Hīnaśī kumburē does *nirikkam naviyā gambhīrūdapānam nadī duggam*

O king is the third quality of the sun he ought to have

39 'And again O king as the sun has a halo of rays just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, have a halo of meditation This O king, is the fourth quality of the sun he ought to have

40 And again, O king as the sun continually warms multitudes of people just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort rejoice the whole world of gods and men with good conduct and righteousness and virtue [390] and the performance of duty and with the *Ghanas* and the *Vimokkhas*, and *Samâdhi* and the *Samâpattis* (various modes of transcendental meditation or ecstasy), and with the five moral powers and the seven kinds of wisdom, and the four modes of being mindful and self possessed, and the fourfold great struggle against evil, and the pursuit of the four roads to saintship This O king is the fifth quality of the sun he ought to have.

41 'And again, O king, as the sun is terrified with the fear of *Râhu* (the demon of eclipses) just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort seeing how beings are entangled in the waste wildernesses of evil life and rebirth in states of woe caught in the net of the mournful results here of evil done in former births or of punishment in purgatory, or of evil inclinations, terrify his mind with a great anxiety and fear This O king is the sixth quality of the sun he ought to have

42 And again, O king as the sun makes manifest the evil and the good, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make mani

fest the moral powers and the kinds of wisdom and the modes of being mindful and self possessed, and the struggle against evil, and the paths to saintship and all qualities temporal and spiritual This, O king is the seventh quality of the sun he ought to have For it was said O king, by Vangisa the Elder

As the rising sun makes plain to all that live  
Forms pure and impure, forms both good and bad  
So should the Bhikshu, like the rising orb  
Bearing the scriptures ever in his mind  
Make manifest to men in ignorance blind,  
The many sided Noble Path of bliss<sup>1</sup> ’

## 29 SAKKA

43 Venerable Nāgasena, the three qualities of Sakka (the king of the gods) which you say he ought to take which are they ?

Just O king, as Sakka enjoys perfect bliss just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, rejoice in the perfect bliss of retirement This O king is the first quality of Sakka he ought to have

44 And again, O king as when Sakka when he sees his gods around him keeps them in his favour fills them with joy just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort keep his mind detached alert and tranquil should make joy spring up within him should rouse himself exert himself, be full of zeal [391] This, O king is the second quality of Sakka he ought to have

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet

45 And again, O king as Sakka feels no discontent just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort never allow himself to become discontented with solitude This, O king is the third quality of Sakka he ought to have For it was said, O king, by Subhūti the Elder

“Since I, great hero have renounced the world  
According to the doctrine that you teach  
I will not grant that any thought of lust  
Or craving care has risen in my breast<sup>1</sup>

### 30 THE SOVRAN OVERLORD

46 ‘Venerable Nāgasena, the four qualities of the sovran overlord which you say he ought to take which are they?’

Just O king as the sovran overlord gains the favour of the people by the four elements of popularity (liberality affability, justice, and impartiality) just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, find favour with please and gladden the hearts of the brethren and rulers of the Order and the laity of either sex This O king, is the quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have

47 ‘And again O king as the sovran overlord allows no robber bands to form in his realm, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort never allow lustful or angry or cruel ideas to arise within him This O king is the second quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet

The man who takes delight in the suppression  
Of evil thoughts and alway self possessed,  
Reflects on the impurity of things  
The world thinks beautiful ne will remove—  
Nay cleave in twain the bonds of the Evil One<sup>1</sup>

48 And again O king as the sovran overlord  
travels through<sup>2</sup> the whole world even to its ocean  
boundary examining into the evil and the good  
just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest  
in effort, examine himself day by day as to his acts  
and words and thoughts, saying to himself ' How  
may I pass the day blameless in these three direc-  
tions? This O king [392] is the third quality of  
the sovran overlord he ought to have For it was  
said O king, by the Blessed One the god over all  
gods in the most excellent Ekuttara Nikâya

"With constant care should the recluse  
Himself examine day by day—  
' As days and nights pass quickly by  
How have they found me ? and how left<sup>3</sup> ?

<sup>1</sup> This verse has not been elsewhere traced as yet but is included in the Dhammapada collection verse 350 Vitakka, which, in accord with the context and with Hīnaśī kumburē is rendered above 'evil thoughts and by Professor Max Müller doubts really means simply thoughts and is sometimes used without any bad connotation. In the Pāli the word Māru which spoils the metre may possibly be an ancient gloss introduced by mistake into the text.

<sup>2</sup> Anuyāyati, which is only found here and which the Sinhalese p 577 renders anusāsana karanneya But compare ānuyāyin at Sutta Nipāta V 7 3-5 and Tela Kaṭṭha Gāthā 25 anuyāyin above, p 284 of the Pāli and ānuyāto at Tela Kaṭṭha Gāthā 41

<sup>3</sup> Mr Trenckner points out that this passage is taken from the Anguttara X, 5 8 Hīnaśī kumburē who gives the Pāli prints it as verse, and translates the context at some length

49 'And again O king as the sovran overlord is completely provided with protection both within and without just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep self possession as his door keeper for a protection against all evil, subjective and objective This O king is the fourth quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One the god over all gods

' With self possession as his door keeper O brethren the disciple of the noble ones puts away evil and devotes himself to goodness, puts away what is matter of offence and devotes himself to blamelessness preserves himself in purity of life<sup>1</sup> '

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### Here ends the Third Chapter

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<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet but the same phrase from puts away evil to the end occurs at *Gâtaka* I 130 131

## BOOK VII CHAPTER 4

## THE SIMILES (continued)

## 31 THE WHITE ANT

1 'Venerable Nâgasena, that quality of the white ant which you say he ought to have, which is it ?

'Just O king, as the white ant goes on with his work only when he has made a roof over himself and covered himself up just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, on his round for alms cover up his mind with righteousness and self-restraint as a roof For in so doing, O king, will he have passed beyond all fear This, O king is the one quality of the white ant he ought to have [393] For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vanganta putta, the Elder

The devotee who covers up his mind,  
Under the sheltering roof of righteousness  
And self control untarnished by the world  
Remains, and is set free from every fear<sup>1</sup>''

## 32 THE CAT

2 'Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the cat you say he ought to have which are they ?

'Just, O king, as the cat in frequenting caves and holes and the interiors of storied dwellings, does so only in the search after rats, just so, O king, should

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<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet But as it is doubtless an old verse it is interesting that it contains the word yogî.



the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort whether he have gone to the village or to the woods or to the foot of trees or into an empty house<sup>1</sup> be continually and always zealous in the search after that which is his food namely self possession This is the first quality of the cat he ought to have

3 'And again O king as the cat in pursuing its prey always crouches down<sup>2</sup> just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort continue conscious of the origin and end<sup>3</sup> of those five groups of the characteristic marks of individuality which arise out of clinging to existence, thinking to himself

Such is form such is its origin such its end Such is sensation such is its origin such its end Such are ideas such is their origin such their end Such are the mental potentialities (the Confections *Sam-khârâ*) such is their origin such their end Such is self consciousness such is its origin such its end<sup>4</sup> This O king is the second quality of the cat he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods

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<sup>1</sup> *Hammiyantara*. The *Sinhalese* has *Piṭṭa barāṇḍa oṭṭi uḍu mahā prāsada oṭṭulāṭa giye da* Baranda which is not in Clough I take to be simply verandah, and the whole to mean or goes into the interior of a mansion with an upper story to it on which is a verandah Buddhaghosa on *Kullavagga* VI, 1 2 (putting only *kūṭāgāra* peaked chamber for barāṇḍa,) has the same explanation Ten or twelve years is allowed in *Kullavagga* VI 17 1 for the building of such a prasada See also *Mahāvagga* I 30 4 and VI 33, 2

<sup>2</sup> *Āsanne* is Mr Trenckner's reading But *Hināṣi kumburē* who translates *deyat tabā hindimeṃ ma* sitting with its fore-paws stretched out evidently read *asanena*

<sup>3</sup> *Abbaya* not in Childers. is of course *avyaya*

<sup>4</sup> The *Sinhalese* expands this speech over ten pages 580-589, and then omits the verse at the end

' Seek not rebirths afar in future states  
 Pray, what could heaven itself advantage you!  
 Now in this present world, and in the state  
 In which you find yourselves, be conquerors !

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### 33 THE RAT

4 ' Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the rat you say he ought to take, which is it ? '

Just O king, as the rat wandering about backwards and forwards, is always smelling after food<sup>1</sup> just so, O king [394] should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be ever in his wanderings to and fro, bent upon thought. This is the quality of the rat he ought to have For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vanganta putta the Elder

' Ever alert and calm the man of insight  
 Esteeming wisdom as the best of all things,  
 Keeps himself independent of all wants and cares<sup>2</sup> ' '

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### 34 THE SCORPION

5 Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the scorpion you say he ought to take, which is it ? '

Just, O king, as the scorpion, whose tail is its weapon, keeps its tail erect as it wanders about, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have knowledge as his weapon

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<sup>1</sup> Upasimsako Dr Morris, in the ' Journal of the Pāli Text Society (1884, p 75), suggests upasinghako But the Sinhalese in the first clause (p 589 last line) has *patamim ma* hoping for, seeking for and in the second (p 590, line 2) *poṭṭimem ma* which is the same thing (from *prārthanā* which confirms Mr Trenckner's reading).

<sup>2</sup> Not traced as yet

and dwell with his weapon knowledge always drawn  
 This O king is the quality of the scorpion he ought  
 to have. For it was said, O king by Upasena  
 Vanganta putta, the Elder

‘With his sword of knowledge drawn, the man of  
 insight

Should ever be unconquerable in the fight,  
 Set free from every fear<sup>1</sup>’

### 35 THE MUNGOOSE

6 Venerable Nagasena that one quality of the  
 mongoose you say he ought to take which is it?

Just O king as the mongoose when attacking  
 a snake, only does so when he has covered his  
 body with an antidote, just so O king should the  
 strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort when going  
 into the world where anger and hatred are rife,  
 which is under the sway of quarrels, strife disputes  
 and enmities ever keep his mind anointed with the  
 antidote of love. This O king is the quality of  
 the mongoose he ought to have For it was said,  
 O king, by Sâriputta the Elder, the Commander of  
 the Faith

‘Therefore should love be felt for one’s own kin  
 And so for strangers too and the whole wide world  
 Should be pervaded with a heart of love—  
 This is the doctrine of the Buddhas all

### 36 THE OLD MALE JACKAL

7 [395] Venerable Nâgasena the two qualities  
 of the old male jackal you say he ought to take,  
 which are they?’

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet

Just O king, as the old male jackal whatever kind of food he finds feels no disgust but eats of it as much as he requires just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort eat without disgust such food as he receives with the sole object of keeping himself alive This, O king, is the first quality of the old male jackal he ought to have For it was said, O king by Mahâ Kassapa the Elder

Leaving my dwelling place I entered once  
 Upon my round for alms the village street  
 A leper there I saw eating his meal  
 And as was meet deliberately, in turn  
 I stood beside him too that he might give a gift.  
 He with his hand all leprous and diseased,  
 Put in my bowl—twas all he had to give—  
 A ball of rice, and as he placed it there  
 A finger mortifying broke and fell  
 Seated behind a wall that ball of food  
 I ate, and neither when I ate it, nay,  
 Nor afterwards, did any loathing thought  
 Arise within my breast<sup>1</sup>

8 'And again, O king as the old male jackal, when he gets any food does not stop to examine it, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort never stop to find out whether food given to him is bitter or sweet, well-flavoured or ill—just as it is should he be satisfied with it. This O king, is the second quality of the old male jackal

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<sup>1</sup> Thera Gâthâ 1054-1056 The reading *pakkena hatthena* seems to me to be quite correct. Compare *pakka gatto*, also of a leper at M I, 506, and above p. 357 of the Pâh.

he ought to have For it was said, O king by Upasena Vanganta putta, the Elder

‘ Bitter food too should he enjoy  
Nor long for what is sweet to taste  
The mind disturbed by lust of taste  
Can neer enjoy the ecstasies  
Of meditations high The man content  
With anything that’s given—in him alone  
Is Samāñaship made perfect<sup>1</sup> ”

### 37 THE DEER

9 Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of the deer you say he ought to take which are they ?

Just, O king as the deer frequents the forest by day, and spends the night in the open air just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort pass the day in the forest, and the night under the open sky This, O king, is the first quality of the deer he ought to have [396] For it was said O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods in the exposition called the Lomahamsana Pariyāya

“ And I, Sāriputta, when the nights are cold and wintry at the time of the eights (the *Ashṭakā* festivals<sup>2</sup>), when the snow is falling at such times did I pass the night under the open sky, and the day in the woods And in the last month of the hot season I spent the day under the open sky and the night in the woods<sup>3</sup> ’

<sup>1</sup> Thera Gathā 580

<sup>2</sup> So called because they were held on the 8th day after the full moon in the two winter months See the notes in Vinaya Texts I, p 130 and in the *Maggħma*, p. 536

<sup>3</sup> *Maggħma Nikāya* I, p. 79 To quote this passage here as an authority the Bhikshu ought still to follow is a striking instance of

10 'And again O king as the deer, when a javelin or an arrow is falling upon him, dodges it and escapes, not allowing his body to remain in its way just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when evil inclinations fall upon him dodge them and escape placing not his mind in their way This O king is the second quality of the deer he ought to have

11 'And again O king as the deer on catching sight of men escapes this way or that that they may not see him just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort when he sees men of quarrelsome habits, given to contentions and strife and disputes wicked men and inert fond of society—then should he escape hither or thither that neither should they see him, nor he them<sup>1</sup> This O king, is the third quality of the deer he ought to have For it was said, O king by Sâriputta, the Elder the Commander of the Faith

“Let not the man with evil in his heart,  
Inert, bereft of zeal of wicked life  
Knowing but little of the sacred words—  
Let not that man, at any time or place,  
Be my companion, or associate with me<sup>2</sup>

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the fatal habit of quoting texts of Scripture apart from their context As it stands it seems as if it supported the proposition of our author But it is really just the contrary For it occurs in the description given by Gotama of what he had done before he arrived at insight, when he was carrying out that system of penance which he afterwards abandoned as useless, and indeed worse than useless

<sup>1</sup> See *Magghima Nikâya* I 79 where the closing words are the same

<sup>2</sup> *Thera Gâthâ* 987 (but the last words differ)

## 38 THE BULL

12 'Venerable Nāgasena, those four qualities of the bull you say he ought to take, which are they ?

'Just O king as the bull never forsakes its own stall just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort never abandon his own body on the ground that its nature is only the decomposition the wearing away the dissolution the destruction of that which is impermanent<sup>1</sup> This O king, is the first quality of the bull he ought to have

13 'And again O king as the bull, when he has once taken the yoke upon him bears that yoke through all conditions of ease or of pain just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, [397] when he has once taken upon himself the life of a recluse keep to it, in happiness or in woe to the end of his life to his latest breath This O king is the second quality of the bull he ought to have

14 'And again O king as the bull drinks water with never satiated desire just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort receive the instruction of his teachers and masters with a desire love, and pleasure that is never satiated<sup>2</sup> This O king is the third quality of the bull he ought to have

15 And again, O king as the bull equally bears the yoke whoever puts it on him just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort accept with bowed head the admonitions and ex

<sup>1</sup> See Dīgha Nikāya II 83, Gāṭaka I 146

<sup>2</sup> Ghṛyamanēna atīptikawa aghraṇayem in the Sinhalese

hortations of the elders of the brethren of junior or of middle standing and of the believing laity alike This O king is the fourth quality of the bull he ought to have For it was said, O king by Sâriputta, the Elder the Commander of the Faith

‘ A novice, seven years of age a boy  
Only to-day received into our ranks,  
He too may teach me and with bended head  
His admonitions will I gladly bear  
Time after time where'er I meet him still  
My strong approval, and my love, will I  
Lavish upon him—if he be but good—  
And yield the honoured place of teacher to him <sup>1</sup>’

### 39 THE BOAR

16 ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the boar you say he ought to take, which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as the boar in the sultry and scorching weather of the hot season, resorts to the water just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, when his heart is distracted and ready to fall all in a whirl inflamed by anger, resort to the cool, ambrosial sweet water of the meditation on love This, O king is the first quality of the boar he ought to have

17 ‘And again, O king as the boar, resorting to muddy water, digs into the swamp with his snout and making a trough for himself, lies down therein just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, put his body away in his mind, and

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet. *Hināsi kumburê* p 594, takes *santo* in the sense of *sat puruṣa guṇayam yukta wū*



lie down in the midst of contemplation [398] This O king is the second quality of the boar he ought to have For it was said O king, by Pindola Bhâradvaga the Elder

“ Alone with no one near, the man of insight,  
 Searching into and finding out the nature  
 Of this body can lay him down to rest  
 On the sweet bed of contemplations deep <sup>1</sup>

#### 40 THE ELEPHANT

18 ‘ Venerable Nâgasena the five qualities of the elephant he ought to take, which are they ?

Just O king, as the elephant, as he walks about crushes the earth, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, mastering the nature of the body crush out all evil This O king is the first quality of the elephant he ought to have

19 ‘ And again O king as the elephant turns his whole body when he looks always looking straight before him, not glancing round this way and that <sup>2</sup> just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, turn his whole body when he looks always looking straight before not glancing round this way and that not looking aloft not looking at his feet but keeping his eyes fixed about a yoke’s length in front of him This O king, is the second quality of the elephant he ought to have

20 And again, O king as the elephant has no permanent lair even in seeking his food does not always frequent the same spot, has no fixed place of

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet

<sup>2</sup> On this curious belief, see Buddhist Suttas p 64

abode, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have no permanent resting place but without a home should go his rounds for alms. Full of insight, wherever he sees a pleasant suitable agreeable place<sup>1</sup> whether in a hut or at the foot of a tree or in a cave or on a mountain side, there should he dwell not taking up a fixed abode. This, O king, is the third quality of the elephant he ought to have.

21 And again O king as the elephant revels in the water, plunging into glorious lotus ponds full of clear pure cool water, and covered over with lotuses yellow, and blue and red and white sporting there in the games in which the mighty beast delights, [399] just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort plunge into the glorious pond of self possession covered with the flowers of emancipation filled with the delicious waters of the pure and stainless clear and limpid Truth there should he by knowledge shake off and drive away the *Samkhâras*<sup>2</sup> there should he revel in the sport that is the delight of the recluse. This, O king is the fourth quality of the elephant he ought to have.

22 And again, O king, as the elephant lifts up his foot with care and puts it down with care, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort be mindful and self possessed in lifting

<sup>1</sup> For *dese bhavam* the Sinhalese reads *desa bhāga*

<sup>2</sup> *Samkhāra* is here used in the sense in which they are said at *Dhammapada*, verse 203, to be *paramā dukkhā*. The word is there explained by the commentator (wrongly I think) as the five *Skandhas*. The Sinhalese, p 596, simply has *sarva saṃskāra dhammayam*

up his feet and in putting them down, in going or returning in stretching his arm or drawing it back— wherever he is he should be mindful and self-possessed. This, O king is the fifth quality of the elephant he ought to have. For it was said, O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikāya*

Good is restraint in action

And good restraint in speech

Good is restraint in mind

Restraint throughout is good

Well guarded is he said to be

Who is ashamed of sin in all things self-controlled<sup>1</sup>

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Here ends the Fourth Chapter

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<sup>1</sup> From the *Samyutta III* 1 5 6. The first four lines are also included in the *Dhammapada* collection verse 361

## BOOK VII CHAPTER 5

## THE SIMILES (continued)

## [400] 41 THE LION

1 'Venerable Nâgasena, those seven qualities of the lion you say he ought to have which are they ?

'Just O king, as the lion is of a clear, stainless and pure light yellow colour, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be clear, stainless and pure light in mind, free from anger and moroseness This O king is the first quality of the lion he ought to have

2 'And again, O king as the lion has four paws as his means of travelling, and is rapid in his gait, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, move along the four paths of saintship This O king is the second quality of the lion he ought to have

3 And again, O king, as the lion has a beautiful coat of hair, pleasant to behold, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort have a beautiful coat of righteousness pleasant to behold This O king, is the third quality of the lion he ought to have

4 And again, O king as the lion even were his life to cease bows down before no man, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, even though he should cease to obtain all the requisites of a recluse—food and clothing and lodging and medicine for the sick—never bow down

to any man <sup>1</sup> This is the fourth quality of the lion he ought to have

5 'And again, O king as the lion eats regularly on, wheresoever his prey falls there does he eat whatever he requires, and seeks not out the best morsels of flesh, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort stand for alms at each hut in regular order not seeking out the families where he would be given better food, not missing out any house upon his rounds <sup>2</sup> he should not pick and choose in eating wheresoever he may have received a mouthful of rice there should he eat it, seeking not for the best morsels This O king is the fifth quality of the lion he ought to have

6 And again O king as the lion is not a storer up of what he eats, and when he has once eaten of his prey returns not again to it, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, never be a storer up of food This is the sixth quality of the lion he ought to have

7 [401] 'And again, O king, as the lion, even if he gets no food, is not alarmed, and if he does <sup>3</sup>, then he eats it without craving without faintness, without sinking <sup>4</sup>, just so, O king should the

<sup>1</sup> This is an injunction the Bhikshus still observe Some of them have been known to attend a levée in Ceylon (improperly as I venture to think) But as they would bow to no one not to governor or prince, the levée became so far as they were concerned, a mere march past.

<sup>2</sup> This is one of the Dhutangas and is in the Sekhiyas (No 33) Most Bhikshus never stand for alms at all But if they do they observe this rule.

<sup>3</sup> If he does not' says the Sinhalese

<sup>4</sup> Anagghapanno The MSS in parallel passages (Tevigga I, 27, Anguttara II, 5, 7, III 131, Udāna VII, 3, 10, Moggallāna I,

strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort be not alarmed even if he gets no food and if he does then should he eat it without craving without faintness without sinking conscious of the danger in the lust of taste in full knowledge of the right outcome of eating (the maintenance of life for the pursuit of holiness)<sup>1</sup> This, O king is the seventh quality of the lion he ought to have For it was said O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods in the most excellent Samyutta Nikâya when he was exalting Maha Kassapa, the Elder

‘ This Kassapa O Bhikshus, is content with such food as he receives he magnifies the being content with whatever food one gets he is not guilty of anything improper or unbecoming for the sake of an alms, if he receive none yet is he not alarmed and if he does then does he eat it without craving without faintness without sinking conscious of danger with full knowledge of the right object in taking food<sup>2</sup>

#### 42 THE KAKRAVAKA BIRD

8 ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the Kakravâka bird you say he ought to take which are they?

Just O king as the Kakravaka bird never for sakes his mate even to the close of his life just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu never even

173, Sumangala I 59) have usually *agghopanno* The Sinhalese has *âhâra trishnâwehi no goell*

<sup>1</sup> Nissarana paññena. This Hīnāsī kumburē renders *nis sarañākhyatawū brahmacariyānugraha pīṇisa yanādiwū pratyawekshā ānāyem yuktawū*

<sup>2</sup> Samyutta XVI 1, 3 (vol. II, p. 194 of M. Léon Feer's edition for the Pāli Text Society)

to the close of his life, give up the habit of thought  
This O king is the first quality of the *Kakravaka*  
bird he ought to have

9 And again O king as the *Kakravāka* bird  
feeds on the *Sevāla* and *Panaka* (water plants so  
called) and derives satisfaction therefrom and being  
so satisfied neither his strength nor his beauty  
grows less just so O king should the strenuous  
Bhikshu, earnest in effort, find satisfaction in what-  
ever he receives And if he does so find satisfaction  
O king then does he decrease neither in power of  
meditation nor in wisdom nor in emancipation nor  
in the insight that arises from the consciousness of  
emancipation, nor in any kind of goodness [402]  
This, O king is the second quality of the *Kakra*  
*vāka* bird he ought to have

10 'And again O king as the *Kakravāka* bird  
does no harm to living things, just so, O king should  
the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, laying aside  
the cudgel, laying aside the sword, be full of modesty  
and pity, compassionate and kind to all creatures  
that have life<sup>1</sup> This, O king, is the third quality  
of the *Kakravāka* bird he ought to have For it  
was said, O king by the Blessed One the god over  
all gods in the *Kakravaka Gāṭaka*

The man who kills not, nor destroys,

Oppresses not, nor causes other men

To take from men that which is rightly theirs<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> This is from the first clause in the *Kūla Sīla* (translated in  
Buddhist Suttas, p 189)

<sup>2</sup> *Na gināti na gāpaye* Both these forms are to be derived,  
I venture to think from *GYĀ* (or its more primitive form *GĪ*),  
and not from *GI* It is true that Childers gives *ginati* as third  
person singular of *GI* and that (through the influence of the

And this from kindness to all things that live—  
No wrath with any man disturbs his peace<sup>1</sup>''

#### 43 THE PENĀHIKĀ<sup>2</sup> BIRD

11 'Venerable Nāgasena those two qualities of the Penāhikā bird you say he ought to take which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the Penāhikā bird through jealousy of her mate, refuses to nourish her young<sup>3</sup>, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be jealous of any evil dispositions

common word (*Gīna*) there has really perhaps been some confusion in Pāli writers between the two roots closely allied as they are both in form and meaning. But whether or not that be so elsewhere we have here at least another instance of the frequent association of a simple verb with its own causal *Gapeti*, which occurs three times in the *Milinda* and is always explained by *Hīnaśi kumburē* in the same way (see my notes above on pp 171, 227 of the Pāli, here he has *artha-hāni no karawā da*) : neither for *ghāpeti* (as Dr Edward Müller suggests in his grammar, p 37) nor for *gāpayati* but for *gyāpayati*. For the apparent confusion between *Gī* *gayati*, conquer and *GYĀ* *gināti*, (1) overcome bring into subjection, (2) oppress extort see the commentary on *gīne* at *Dhammapada*, verse 103 (quoted also at *Gāthaka* I 314) which runs *gīnitvāna gayam āhareyya* and on *gayam* at verse 201 (taken from *Samyutta* III 2 4 7) which is explained by *ginanto*, and at verse 104 where *gitam* is explained by *gināti*. But in Pīṭaka texts I know of no instance where the two roots cannot be kept quite distinct and it is quite possible that the *Dhammapada* commentator while interpreting the one root by the other is still conscious of the difference between them. *Gīna* (the p p p of *gināti*) is not given at all by Childers but occurs *Gāthaka* III 153 223 335, V 99

<sup>1</sup> *Gāthaka* IV 71. One word differs and the lines are not spoken by the Buddha, but by the bird.

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese (p 600) has *koendettiya*, a word not in Clough.

<sup>3</sup> *Hīnaśi kumburē*'s translation of this clause shows that he had a different reading in his Pāli text.



which arise within him, and putting them by his mindfulness into the excellent crevice of self-control, should dwell at the door of his mind in the constant practice of self-possession in all things relating to his body<sup>1</sup> This, O king, is the first quality of the *Peṇāhikā* bird he ought to have

12 'And again, O king, as the *Peṇāhikā* bird spends the day in the forest in search of food, but at night time resorts for protection to the flock of birds to which she belongs just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort who has for a time resorted to solitary places for the purpose of emancipation from the ten Fetters, and found no satisfaction therein repair back to the Order for protection against the danger of blame and dwell under the shelter of the Order<sup>2</sup> This O king, is the second quality of the *Peṇāhikā* bird he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Brahmā Sahampati in the presence of the Blessed One

'Seek lodgings distant from the haunts of men,  
Live there in freedom from the bonds of sin,  
But he who finds no peace in solitude  
May with the Order dwell guarded in heart,  
Mindful and self-possessed<sup>3</sup> '

<sup>1</sup> 'As the *Peṇāhikā* refusing to nourish her young in the nest puts them into a crevice of a tree and watches them here is the Sinhalese interpretation And the word *susira* would not have been used in the second clause unless something corresponding to it had originally stood also in the first

<sup>2</sup> Here again it is probable from the Sinhalese version that *Hīnaṣi kumburē* reads *rattim* for *ratim*

<sup>3</sup> The verse occurs in the Thera Gāthā 142 but is here quoted from the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* VI 2, 3 4 where the readings *sake ka nādhigaḷḷhaye* *satimā* must be corrected according to the readings here

## 44 THE HOUSE PIGEON

13 [403] Venerable Nagasena that one quality of the house pigeon you say he ought to take, which is it?

'Just, O king as the house-pigeon while dwelling in the abode of others of men does not become enamoured of anything that belongs to them but remains neutral taking notice only of things pertaining to birds, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, while resorting to other people's houses never become enamoured of women or of men of beds or chairs, or garments, or jewelry or things for use or enjoyment or various forms of food that are there but remain neutral always addicted only to such ideas as become a recluse. This, O king is the quality of the house-pigeon he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods in the *Kulla Nānada Gāṭaka*

Frequenting people's homes for food or drink  
In food and drink alike be temperate  
And let not beauty's form attract thy thoughts<sup>1</sup>

## 45 THE OWL

14 Venerable Nāgasena, those two qualities of the owl you say he ought to take, which are they?

Just O king as the owl being at enmity with the crows, goes at night where the flocks of crows are and kills numbers of them, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort be

<sup>1</sup> *Gāṭaka* IV, 223. There is a difference of reading making no difference to the sense and the words are put into the mouth not of the Buddha, but of the old ascetic, the Bōdisat of the story

at enmity with ignorance seated alone and in secret he should crush it out of existence cut it off at the root This O king, is the first quality of the owl he ought to have

15 And again O king as the owl is a solitary bird just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be devoted to solitude take delight in solitude This, O king is the second quality of the owl he ought to have For it was said O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods in the most excellent Samyutta Nikaya

'Let the Bhikshu my brethren be devoted to solitude take delight in solitude to the end that he may realise what sorrow really is, and what the origin of sorrow really is, [404] and what the cessation of sorrow really is, and what the path that leads to the cessation of sorrow really is'<sup>1</sup>

#### 46 THE INDIAN CRANE<sup>2</sup>

16 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the Indian crane you say he ought to take which is it?'

'Just O king, as the Indian crane by its cry makes known to other folk the good fortune or disaster that is about to happen to them, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, make known to others by his preaching of the Dhamma how dreadful a state is purgatory, and how blissful is Nirvâna This, O king, is the quality of the Indian crane he ought to have For it was said, O king, by Pindola Bhâra-dvâga the elder

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.

<sup>2</sup> Satapatto literally 'the hundred feathered one, Sinhalese koerol quite different from the ordinary crane (bako) This one was a bird of ill omen See Gâtaka II, 153 foll

Two matters there are that the earnest recluse  
 Should ever to others be making clear—  
 How fearful, how terrible purgatory is,  
 How great and how deep is Nirvâṇa's bliss<sup>1</sup>''

#### 47 THE BAT

17 Venerable Nāgasena, those two qualities of the bat you say he ought to take, which are they ?'

'Just, O king, as the bat, though it enters into men's dwelling places and flies about in them, soon goes out from them delays not therein, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he has entered the village for alms, and gone on his rounds in regular order, depart quickly with the alms he has received, and delay not therein. This, O king, is the first quality of the bat he ought to have

18 'And again, O king, as the bat, while frequenting other folk's houses, does them no harm, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when visiting the houses of the laity, never give them cause for vexation by persistent requests, or by pointing out what he wants or by wrong demeanour, or by chattering, or by being indifferent to their prosperity or adversity, he should never take them away from their chief business occupations, but desire their success in all things. This, O king, is the second quality of the bat he ought to have. For it was said, O king, [405] by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Lakkhaṇa Suttanta

" Oh ! How may others never suffer loss  
 Or diminution, whether in their faith,

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.

Or righteousness or knowledge of the word,  
 Or understanding or self-sacrifice,  
 Or in religion, or in all good things,  
 Or in their stores of wealth or corn or lands,  
 Or tenements or in their sons, or wives  
 Or in their flocks and herds, or in their friends,  
 And relatives, and kinsmen, or in strength,  
 In beauty, and in joy —'tis thus he thinks—  
 Longing for other men's advantage and success<sup>1</sup> !

#### 48 THE LEECH

19 'Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the leech which you say he ought to take, which is it ?

'Just, O king, as the leech, wheresoever it is put on, there does it adhere firmly, drinking the blood just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, on whatsoever subject for meditation he may fix his mind call that subject firmly up before him in respect of its colour and shape, and position and extension, and boundaries, and nature and characteristic marks, drinking the delicious draught of the ambrosia of emancipation. This O king, is the quality of the leech he ought to have. 'For it was said O king, by Anuruddha the Elder

"With heart made pure, in meditation firm,  
 Drink deep of freedom's never-failing draught"<sup>2</sup> !

<sup>1</sup> This is from the 30th Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya where it occurs in the description of the Bodhisat

<sup>2</sup> Not traced as yet. Childers translates *asekha* by 'charming &c., apparently on the authority of Subhūti's English gloss on *Abhidhāna Padīpikā*<sup>6</sup> 597. But that meaning is rather the point of union between all the synonyms given in the verse, and not the exact meaning of each of them. The word either in its simple form or with an added *ka*, occurs in Theri Gāthā 55, *Magghima Nikāya* I, 114

## 49 THE SERPENT

20 'Venerable Nagasena those three qualities of the serpent you say he ought to take, which are they ?

Just O king as the serpent progresses by means of its belly, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort progress by means of his knowledge For the heart of the recluse O king, who progresses by knowledge continues in perception (of the four Truths) that which is inconsistent with the characteristics of a recluse<sup>1</sup> does he put away that which is consistent with them does he develop in himself This, [406] O king is the first quality of the serpent he ought to have

21 And again O king just as the serpent as it moves avoids drugs<sup>2</sup> just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, go on his way avoiding unrighteousness This, O king is the second quality of the serpent he ought to have

22 'And again, O king as the serpent on catching sight of men is anxious, and pained, and seeks a way of escape<sup>3</sup>, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, when he finds himself thinking wrong thoughts or discontent arising within him, be anxious and pained, and seek a way of escape saying to himself "This day must I have spent in carelessness, and never shall I be able to recover it." This O king is the third quality of the

<sup>1</sup> *Vilakkhanam* not found elsewhere *Hināfi kumburē* p 604 renders it simply dullness (*moha*)

<sup>2</sup> Goes slanting avoiding medicinal plants trees, &c says the *Sinhalese*

<sup>3</sup> *Kintayati* perhaps put out *Gēlawī yanta sitanneya* says the *Sinhalese*, p 605

serpent he ought to have For it is a saying O king,  
of the two fairy birds in the Bhallâtiya Gâtaka

‘Tis one night only, hunter, that we’ve spent  
Away from home and that against our will,  
And thinking all night through of one another,  
Yet that one night is it that we bemoan  
And grieve, for nevermore can it return<sup>1</sup>’

### 50 THE ROCK SNAKE<sup>2</sup>

23 Venerable Nâgasena that one quality of the  
rock snake that you say he ought to take, which  
is it<sup>3</sup>’

‘Just O king, as the rock snake immense as is its  
length of body will go many days with empty belly  
and wretched, get no food to fill its stomach yet in  
spite of that it will just manage to keep itself alive  
just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu  
earnest in effort though he be addicted to obtaining  
his food by alms dependent on the gifts that others  
may give awaiting offers abstaining from taking  
anything himself and find it difficult to get his  
belly s-full yet should he if he seek after the highest  
good<sup>3</sup> even though he receive not so much as four  
or five mouthfuls to eat, fill up the void by water  
This O king is the quality of the rock snake he  
ought to have For it was said O king [407] by  
Sariputta, the Elder the Commander of the Faith

<sup>1</sup> Gataka IV 439

<sup>2</sup> Agagara. Childers renders this boa constrictor But  
Hinañi kumburê has pimbura, which is a rock snake often con-  
founded with the boa constrictor on account of the size to which it  
grows.

<sup>3</sup> Atthavasikena attha being rendered Nirvâna by the Sinhalese

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“ Whether it be dry food or wet he eats,  
Let him to full repletion never eat  
The good recluse goes forth in emptiness,  
And keeps to moderation in his food,  
If but four mouthfuls or but five he get  
Let him drink water For what cares the man  
With mind on Arahatsip fixed for ease<sup>1</sup> ’ ’

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Here ends the Fifth Chapter

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<sup>1</sup> Thera Gāthā 982 983 The next verse but one has been already quoted above, p 366 of the Pālī and these recur at Gāthaka II, 293, 294



## BOOK VII CHAPTER 6

## THE SIMILES (continued)

## 51 THE ROAD SPIDER

1 'Venerable Nagasena, that one quality of the road spider you say he ought to have, which is it?

'Just, O king as the road spider weaves the curtain of its net on the road, and whatsoever is caught therein, whether worm, or fly, or beetle, that does he catch and eat, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, spread the curtain of the net of self-possession over the six doors (of his six senses), and if any of the flies of evil are caught therein, there should he seize them. This, O king is the quality of the road spider he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Anuruddha, the Elder

"His heart should he shut in, at its six doors  
By self-possession, best and chief of gifts  
Should any evil thoughts be caught within  
Them by the sword of insight should he slay<sup>1</sup>'

## 52 THE CHILD AT THE BREAST

2. Venerable Nāgasena that one quality of the child at the breast you say, he ought to take [408] which is it?

'Just, O king as the child at the breast sticks to its own advantage, and if it wants milk, cries for it,

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<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.

just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort adhere to his own good, and in everything—in teaching in asking and answering questions in the conduct of life in the habit of solitude in association with his teachers in the cultivation of the friendship of the good—should he act with knowledge of the Truth. This O king is the quality of the child at the breast he ought to have. For it was said, O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Digha Nikāya, in the Suttanta of the Great Decease

Be zealous rather I beseech you Ānanda, in your own behalf. Devote yourselves to your own good. Be earnest all aglow intent on your own good<sup>1</sup>

### 53 THE LAND TORTOISE<sup>2</sup>

3 Venerable Nāgasena that one quality of the land tortoise which you say he ought to take, which is it?

Just O king, as the land tortoise being afraid of the water, frequents places far from it and by that habit of avoiding water its length of life is kept undiminished, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort seeing the danger in the want of earnestness, be mindful of the advantages that distinguish earnestness. For by that perception of

<sup>1</sup> Maha parinibbana Suttanta V 24, translated in Buddhist Suttas, p 91. The beginning of the exhortation has been already quoted above p 177 (of the Pāli)

<sup>2</sup> Kittaka dhara kummassa, literally of the tortoise who wears the sectarian mark (on his forehead). The Sinhalese repeats this phrase which clearly distinguishes this tortoise from the other, the water tortoise of VII 1 12

danger in carelessness his Samanaship fades not away but rather does he go forward to Nirvâna itself This, O king is the quality of the land tor toise he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods, in the Dhammapada

‘ The Bhikshu who in earnestness delights,  
Who sees the danger of indifference,  
Shall fall not from his high estate away,  
But in the presence of Nirvâna dwell <sup>1</sup>

#### 54 THE MOUNTAIN HEIGHT

4. ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of the mountain height you say he ought to have, which are they ?

Just, O king, as the mountain height is a hiding-place for the wicked just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep secret the offences and failings of others revealing them not. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the mountain height he ought to have

5 ‘ And again, O king just as the mountain height is void of many people just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, [409] earnest in effort be void of lust, angers, follies, and pride of the net of (wrong) views <sup>2</sup>, and of all evil dispositions This O king

<sup>1</sup> Dhammapada verse 32 The source from which the verse is taken is unknown now and was also evidently unknown to our author With the closing words nibbânass eva santike compare verse 372 sa ve nibbâna santike Santike ‘immediate close, is always used with the connotation of being in the very presence of The local qualification near is upanissaya avidûre

<sup>2</sup> *Diṭṭhi gâla*, the net of delusions, those relating to the per

is the second quality of the mountain height he ought to have

6 'And again O king just as the mountain height is a lonely spot free from crowding of men just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort be given to solitude, and free from evil, unworthy qualities from those that are not noble This O king, is the third quality of the mountain height he ought to have

7 And again, O king, just as the mountain height is clean and pure, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be good and pure happy, and without self righteousness This, O king is the fourth quality of the mountain height he ought to have

8 And again O king just as the mountain height is the resort of the noble ones just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort be sought after by the noble ones This O king is the fifth quality of the mountain height he ought to have For it was said O king, by the Blessed One the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikâya*

With solitary men, those noble ones,  
Whose minds, on Arahatship strictly bent,  
Rise easily to contemplation's heights,  
Stedfast in zeal and wise in holy writ—  
With such should he resort, with such commune<sup>1</sup>

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manence of any individuality and the separateness of oneself from others as well those now living as those in the future and the past.

<sup>1</sup> This is a favourite stanza. It occurs in the *Samyutta* XIV 16-18 and is included in the verses ascribed, in the *Thera Gâthâ* to the Arahats *Somamitta* and *Vimala* (verses 148 266).

## 55 THE TREE

9 Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of the tree you say he ought to take, which are they ?

‘ Just, O king as the tree bears fruits and flowers just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, bear the flowers of emancipation and the fruits of Samānaship<sup>1</sup> This, O king is the first quality of the tree he ought to have

10. And again O king as the tree casts its shadow over the men who come to it, and stay beneath it, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, receive with kindness both as regards their bodily wants and their religious necessities those that wait upon him, and remain near by him This, O king, is the second quality of the tree he ought to have

11 ‘ And again O king, just as the tree makes no kind of distinction in the shadow it affords, [410] just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort make no distinctions between all men, but nourish an equal love to those who rob, or hurt, or bear enmity to him and to those who are like unto himself This, O king is the third quality of the tree he ought to have For it was said, O king by Sāriputta, the Elder the Commander of the Faith

“ Devadatta who tried to murder him,  
Angulimala, highway robber chief,  
The elephant set loose to take his life,  
And Rāhula, the good, his only son—  
The sage is equal minded to them all<sup>2</sup> ’

<sup>1</sup> The Sinhalese, p. 610 is here greatly expanded.

<sup>2</sup> This stanza has only been traced at present in commentaries

## 56 THE RAIN

12 Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of the rain you say he ought to take, which are they ?'

'Just O king, as the rain lays any dust that arises just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort lay the dust and dirt of any evil dispositions that may arise within him This O king is the first quality of the rain he ought to have

13 And again O king just as the rain allays the heat of the ground, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, soothe the whole world of gods and men with the feeling of his love This O king, is the second quality of the rain he ought to have

14 'And again, O king as the rain makes all kinds of vegetation to grow just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cause faith to spring up in all beings and make that seed of faith grow up into the three Attainments, not only the lesser attainments of glorious rebirths in heaven or on earth but also the attainment of the highest good, the bliss of Arahatsip<sup>1</sup> This O king is the third quality of the rain he ought to have

15 'And again O king, just as the rain cloud rising up in the hot season affords protection to the grass and trees and creepers and shrubs, and medicinal herbs and to the monarchs of the woods that grow on the surface of the earth, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort,

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where it is quoted with some variation See the Commentary on the Dhammapada, p 147

<sup>1</sup> In my note above, I, 146 I ought have referred to this passage.

cultivating the habit of thoughtfulness afford protection by his thoughtfulness to his condition of Samazaship for in thoughtfulness is it that all good qualities have their root This O king, is the fourth quality of the rain he ought to have

16 [411] 'And again, O king, as the rain when it pours down fills the rivers, and reservoirs, and artificial lakes the caves and chasms and ponds and holes, and wells with water, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort pour down the rain of the Dhamma according to the texts handed down by tradition and so fill to satisfaction the mind of those who are longing for instruction This O king, is the fifth quality of the rain he ought to have For it was said O king by Sâriputta the Elder the Commander of the Faith

"When the Great Sage perceives a man afar  
Were it a hundred or a thousand leagues  
Ripe for enlightenment straightway he goes  
And guides him gently to the path of Truth<sup>1</sup>

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### 57 THE DIAMOND

17 Venerable Nagasena those three qualities of the diamond you say he ought to take, which are they?

Just O king as the diamond is pure throughout just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort be perfectly pure in his means of livelihood This O king, is the first quality of the diamond he ought to have

18 And again, O king, as the diamond cannot

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<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet

be alloyed with any other substance, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, never mix with wicked men as friends This, O king, is the second quality of the diamond he ought to have

19 'And again, O king, just as the diamond is set together with the most costly gems, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort associate with those of the higher excellence with men who have entered the first or the second or the third stage of the Noble Path with the jewel treasures of the Arahats, of the recluses, of the threefold Wisdom, or of the sixfold Insight This, O king, is the third quality of the diamond he ought to have For it was said, 'O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipāta

"Let the pure associate with the pure,  
Ever in recollection firm,  
Dwelling harmoniously wise  
Thus shall ye put an end to griefs<sup>1</sup> '

## 58 THE HUNTER

20 [412] 'Venerable Nāgasena, those four qualities of the hunter you say he ought to have, which are they?

'Just, O king, as the hunter is indefatigable, so also, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be indefatigable. This, O king is the first quality of the hunter he ought to have.

21 'And again, O king just as the hunter keeps his attention fixed on the deer, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep his

<sup>1</sup> Sutta Nipāta II, 6, 10 (verse 282).



attention fixed on the particular object which is the subject of his thought This O king is the second quality of the hunter he ought to have

22 And again O king just as the hunter knows the right time for his work, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, know the right time for retirement, saying to himself "Now is the right time to retire Now is the right time to come out of retirement. This O king is the third quality of the hunter he ought to have

23 And again, O king just as the hunter on catching sight of a deer experiences joy at the thought 'Him shall I get!' just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort rejoice at the sight of an object for contemplation, and experience joy at the thought 'Thereby shall I grasp the specific idea of which I am in search' This, O king, is the fourth quality of the hunter he ought to have For it was said, O king by Mogha rāga, the Elder

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<sup>1</sup> *Uttarīm visesam udhigaḷḷhissāmi.* *Hīna-kumburē* p 614 renders this, shall I arrive at the advantage of the attainment of the fruits of the path And he may be right, as the word *uttarīm* is used. But the context seems to imply the rendering I have ventured to give which preserves the usual connotation in this connection of the other two words of the phrase A Bhikshu for instance, on seeing a faded flower will try to realise, to conjure up before his mind, the real fact of the transitoriness of all earthly (and of all heavenly) things That is the specific idea of which he is in search the deer he has to catch No doubt it is only an intermediate step to the realisation of the fruits of the path But as *visesam adhigaḷḷhati* is the technical term for success in such meditation, I cannot but think that the mind of our author was directed to the intermediate rather than to the later stage of the Bhikshu's endeavour The Sinhalese has perhaps been guided by the verse but there the word *visesam* is omitted

'The recluse who with mind on Nirvāṇa bent,  
Has acquired an object his thoughts to guide  
Should be filled with exceeding joy at the hope  
By this my uttermost aim shall I gain<sup>1</sup>'''

### 59 THE FISHERMAN

24 'Venerable Nāgasena those two qualities of the fisherman you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just O king, as the fisherman draws up the fish on his hook, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort draw up by his knowledge, and that to the uttermost the fruits of Samāśaśip This, O king is the first quality of the fisherman he ought to have

25 And again O king, just as the fisherman by the sacrifice of a very little comes to great gain<sup>2</sup>, just so O king [413] should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, renounce the mean baits of worldly things, then by that renunciation will he gain the mighty fruits of Samāśaśip This, O king is the second quality of the fisherman he ought to have For it was said O king by Rāhula, the Elder

"Renouncing the baits of the world he shall gain  
The state that is void of lust, anger, and sin —  
Those conditions of sentient life—and be free,  
Free from the cravings that mortals feel,  
And the fruits of the stages of th Excellent Way  
And the six modes of Insight shall all be his<sup>3</sup>'

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet. There are stanzas of Mogha rāga s both in the Sutta Nipāta and the Thera Gāthā, but this is not one of them

<sup>2</sup> By putting a small fish on his hook catches a big one

<sup>3</sup> Not traced as yet.

## 60 THE CARPENTER

26 Venerable Nāgasena those two qualities of the carpenter he ought to take, which are they ?

Just O king as the carpenter saws off the wood along the line of the blackened string (he has put round it to guide him)<sup>1</sup>, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, standing on righteousness as a basis, and holding in the hand of faith the saw of knowledge, cut off his evil dispositions according to the doctrine laid down by the Conquerors This, O king is the first quality of the carpenter he ought to have

27 And again, O king, just as the carpenter discarding the soft parts of the wood<sup>2</sup> takes the hard parts, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort forsaking the path of the discussion of useless theses to wit—the everlasting life theory—the let us eat and-drink for-tomorrow-we die theory<sup>3</sup>—the theory that the soul and the body are one and the same—that the soul is one thing the body another—that all teachings are alike

<sup>1</sup> *Kāḷa suttam* See Dr Morris's note in the 'Journal of the Pālī Text Society 1884, pp 76-78 where he compares Mahā Vastu p 17 and other passages

<sup>2</sup> *Pheggum* See above p 267 (of the Pālī) and *Magghima Nikāya* I 198 434 488 from which it is clear that pheggū is a technical term applied to the softer portions of every tree, no doubt the outside portions Sāra, on the other hand, means not pith but heart of a tree. The Sinhalese words are sambulu and aratuwa. Compare the ebony tree the outside of which is as soft and white as deal whereas the inside is black and hard

<sup>3</sup> *Sassatam* and *Ukkhedam* See Buddhist Suttas, p. 149 *Hīnafi kumburê* p. 615 omits these two and is very confused in his version of the others

excellent<sup>1</sup>—that what is not done is of no avail—that men's actions are of no importance—that holiness of life does not matter—that on the destruction of beings nine new sorts of beings appear—that the constituent elements of being are eternal<sup>2</sup>—that he who commits an act experiences the result thereof—that one acts and another experiences the result of this action—and other such theories of Karma or wrong views on the result of actions—forsaking I say, all such theses, paths which lead to heresy, he should learn what is the real nature of those constituent elements of which each individuality is for the short term of its individuality, put together and so reach forward to that state which is void of lusts, of malice, and of dullness, in which the excitements of individuality are known no more and which is therefore designated the Void Supreme<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tad uttamam aññad uttamam* The Sinhalese omits the second *uttamam*

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese takes all the four previous phrases as qualifying this last one

<sup>3</sup> This passage will be found of the greatest importance for the history of the development of early Buddhist belief. In the present state of our knowledge—or rather of our ignorance—of that subject, its obscure allusions are no doubt unintelligible. But they will not always remain so. And, when rightly understood, they will be expressly valuable inasmuch as they refer to that department of Buddhist belief of which we know, from other sources, the least. The development—or degeneration if the expression be preferred—of Buddhist doctrine took place along three principal lines. Firstly in the doctrine as to the person of the Buddha, secondly, in the pushing of Arahatsip into the background and the elevation, in its place, of Bodisatship into the ideal, and thirdly in the doctrine of the relation of man to the universe. We know a good deal of the growth of the legend of the Buddha, and of the change in the ethical standpoint. Of the evolution of the philosophic conceptions we know at present but little. It is on this last point that our author here lets us somewhat behind the scenes. The theses he

This, O king, is the second quality of the carpenter he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Blessed One the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipāta

‘ Get rid of filth <sup>1</sup> Put aside rubbish from you !  
Winnow away the chaff <sup>2</sup>, the men who hold  
Those who are not so as true Samanas !  
Get rid of those who harbour evil thoughts,  
Who follow after evil modes of life !  
Thoughtful yourselves and pure with those resort,  
With those associate, who are pure themselves <sup>3</sup> !

### Here ends the Sixth Chapter

condemns are to some extent the same as those the discussion of which is condemned in the well known passages in the Pīṭakas where similar lists occur In other respects they are evidence of a different and later stage of thought than appears in those parts of the Pīṭakas at present accessible And on the positive side, in the closing words though the author has evidently enough the old Arabatship in view yet he chooses expressions which became the germ of the much later nihilism of the Mādhyamika school which has had so much influence in the more corrupt Buddhisms more especially in China As these later views never penetrated into Ceylon (or at least never had any vogue there and were for gotten when Hīnaśī kumburē wrote) it is not surprising that the Sinhalese scholar should be at fault in his interpretation of this difficult passage Sanskrit Buddhist texts will be here the best commentary

<sup>1</sup> Kāraṇḍavam In Childers, ‘a sort of duck in the Sinhalese excrement.

<sup>2</sup> Palāpe vāhetha. Chaff is so often used in Pāli of frivolous talk that it is given in the dictionaries as having that meaning Hīnaśī kumburē takes it here in the sense of men of low caste leprous *Kandālas*.

<sup>3</sup> Not traced as yet It is not in the Sutta Nipāta. This is the only passage in which our author gives the name of a book as the source from which he takes a passage, when the passage cannot be found in it See Introduction, I, xliii

## BOOK VII CHAPTER 7

## THE SIMILES (continued)

## 61 THE WATERPOT

1 [414] Venerable Nagasena that one quality of the waterpot you say he ought to take, which is it?

‘Just, O king, as the waterpot when it is full gives forth no sound, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, even when he has reached the summit of Samanaship, and knows all tradition and learning and interpretation yet should give forth no sound, not pride himself thereon, not show himself puffed up, but putting away pride and self-righteousness should be straightforward not garrulous of himself, neither deprecating others. This, O king is the quality of the waterpot he ought to have. For it was said O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipâta

‘What is not full that is the thing that sounds,  
That which is full is noiseless and at rest,  
The fool is like an empty waterpot  
The wise man like a deep pool clear and full<sup>1</sup>

62 BLACK IRON<sup>2</sup>

2 ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of black iron you say he ought to take, which are they?

[415] ‘Just, O king, as black iron even when

<sup>1</sup> Sutta Nipata III 11 43 (verse 721)

<sup>2</sup> Kaṭṭhaya. I suppose to distinguish it from bronze

beaten out<sup>1</sup> carries weight just so, O king should the mind of the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort be able, by his habit of thoughtfulness, to carry heavy burdens This, O king is the first quality of black iron he ought to have

3 'And again O king, as black iron does not vomit up the water it has once soaked in<sup>2</sup>, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, never give up the faith he has once felt in the greatness of the Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha, in the perfection of his Doctrine in the excellence of the Order—never give up the knowledge he has once acquired of the impermanence of forms or of sensations or of ideas or of qualities or of modes of consciousness This O king is the second quality of black iron he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Blessed One, the god over all gods

'That man who is in insight purified,  
Trained in the doctrine of the Noble Ones,  
Grasping distinctions as they really are,  
What need hath he to tremble? Not in part  
Only, but in its full extent shall he  
To the clear heights of Arahatsip attain<sup>3</sup>''

### 63 THE SUNSHADE

4 'Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the sunshade<sup>4</sup> you say he ought to take, which are they?

<sup>1</sup> Suthito Like a thin, strong creeper says the Sinhalese

<sup>2</sup> There is no explanation in the Sinhalese of this curious phrase

<sup>3</sup> Not traced as yet Hīnaś kumburê (p 618) reads visesa gunâ pavedhati and mukhabhâvam eva so

<sup>4</sup> Khattha As used by high officials a circular sunshade sup-

Just, O king, as the sunshade goes along over one's head just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort be of a character above all evil dispositions This, O king is the first quality of the sunshade he ought to have

5 'And again, O king, just as the sunshade is held over the head by a handle, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort have thoughtfulness as his handle This, O king, is the second quality of the sunshade he ought to have

6 'And again, O king, as the sunshade wards off winds and heat and storms of rain, just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort ward off the empty winds of the opinions of the numerous Samanas and Brahmans who hold forth their various and divergent nostrums, ward off the heat of the threefold fire (of lust, malice, and dullness), and ward off the rains of evil dispositions [416] This, O king, is the third quality of the sunshade he ought to have For it was said O king by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith

'As a broad sunshade spreading far and firm  
Without a hole from rim to rim wards off  
The burning heat, and the god's mighty rain,  
So doth the Buddha's son, all pure within,  
Bearing the sunshade brave of righteousness,  
Ward off the rain of evil tendencies,  
And the dread heat of all the threefold fire<sup>1</sup>'

ported, not by a short stick fixed underneath its centre but by a long stick fastened to a point on its circumference and carried, not by the person it shades, but by an attendant behind him

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.



## 64 THE RICE FIELD

7 Venerable Nagasena, those three qualities of the rice field you say he ought to have, which are they?''

'Just, O king, as the rice field is provided with canals for irrigation, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be provided with the lists of the various duties incumbent on the righteous man—the canals that bring the water to the rice fields of the Buddha's doctrine<sup>1</sup> This O king is the first of the qualities of the rice field he ought to have

8 'And again, O king just as the rice field is provided with embankments whereby men keep the water in, and so bring the crop to maturity, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be provided with the embankments of righteousness of life, and shame at sin and thereby keep his Samānaship intact and gain the fruits thereof This O king is the second quality of the rice field he ought to have

9 And again, O king just as the rice field is fruitful, filling the heart of the farmer with joy so that if the seed be little the crop is great, and if the seed be much the crop is greater still just so O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, be fruitful to the bearing of much good fruit, making the hearts of those who support him to rejoice, so that where little is given the result is great, and where much is given the result is greater still.

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<sup>1</sup> As the pun on the two secondary meanings of *mâtikâ*, rule line is untranslatable I add here *Hinai kumburê*'s gloss on the simile.

This, O king is the third quality of the rice field he ought to have For it was said O king by Upâli the Elder, he who carried the rules of the Order in his head

“ Be fruitful as a rice field yea, be rich  
In all good works ! For that is the best field  
Which yieldeth to the sower the goodliest crop <sup>1</sup>

### 65 MEDICINE

10 [417] Venerable Nâgasena those two qualities of medicine you say he ought to take which are they ?

Just, O king as vermin are not produced in medicine just so O king should no evil dispositions be allowed to arise in the mind of the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort This, O king, is the first of the qualities of medicine he ought to have

11 ‘ And again O king, just as medicine is an antidote to whatever poison may have been imparted by bites or contact by eating or by drinking in any way just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, counteract in himself the poison of lusts and malice and dullness and pride and wrong belief This, O king, is the second of the qualities of medicine he ought to have For it was said, O king by the Blessed One, the god over all the gods

“ The strenuous recluse who longs to see  
Into the nature, and the meaning true  
Of the constituent elements of things,  
Must as it were an antidote become  
To the destruction of all evil thoughts <sup>1</sup>’

---

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet

## 66 FOOD

12 'Venerable Nâgasena those three qualities of food you say he ought to take which are they ?

'Just O king, as food is the support of all beings, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort be a handle as it were by which all beings may open the door of the noble eightfold path This, O king, is the first of the qualities of food he ought to have

13 And again, O king, just as food increases people's strength just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, grow in increase of virtue This, O king, is the second of the qualities of food he ought to have

14 'And again, O king just as food is a thing desired of all beings, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort be desired of all the world. This, O king is the third of the qualities of food he ought to have For it was said, O king, by Mahâ Moggallâna, the Elder

'By self restraint, training, and righteousness,  
By duty done, and by attainments reached,  
The strenuous recluse should make himself  
To all men in the world a thing desired <sup>1</sup>

## 67 THE ARCHER

15 [418] 'Venerable Nâgasena, those four qualities of the archer you say he ought to take, which are they ?

'Just, O king, as the archer, when discharging

---

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.

his arrows plants both his feet firmly on the ground keeps his knees straight, hangs his quiver against the narrow part of his waist keeps his whole body steady places both his hands firmly on the point of junction (of the arrow on the bow) closes his fists, leaves no openings between his fingers, stretches out his neck shuts his mouth and one eye<sup>1</sup>, and takes aim<sup>2</sup> in joy at the thought 'I shall hit it'<sup>3</sup>, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, plant firmly the feet of his zeal on the basis of righteousness, keep intact his kindness and tenderness of heart fix his mind on subjugation of the senses keep himself steady by self restraint and performance of duty, suppress excitement and sense of faintness by continual thoughtfulness let no openings remain in his mind reach forward in zeal, shut the six doors (of the five senses and the mind) and continue mindful and thoughtful in joy at the thought By the javelin of my knowledge will I slay all my evil dispositions This O king, is the first of the qualities of the archer he ought to have

16 <sup>4</sup> And again, O king as the archer carries a vice<sup>5</sup> for straightening out bent and crooked and

<sup>1</sup> Literally and his eyes

<sup>2</sup> *Nimittam ugum karotī*. Keeps his mind directed says *Hīnaś kumburē* p 621

<sup>3</sup> On other technical terms of archery compare above p 352 (of the Pāli)

<sup>4</sup> From this point to the end Mr Trenckner's text is taken from a MS brought from Siam as explained in his Introduction pp v vi, and in my Introduction, I, xxiv *Hīnaś kumburē* gives no indication of any change here in the MSS he used.

<sup>5</sup> *Āṭaka* which *Hīnaś kumburē*, p 622, merely repeats But see Dr Morris in the 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society' 1886 p 158

uneven arrows, just so O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, carry about with him so long as he is in the body the vice of mindfulness and thoughtfulness wherewith he may straighten out any crooked and bent and shifty ideas This, O king is the second of the qualities of the archer he ought to have

17 'And again, O king, as the archer practises<sup>1</sup> at a target, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort practise so long as he is in the body And how, O king, should he practise? He should practise himself in the idea of the impermanence of all things, of the sorrow inherent in individuality in the absence in any thing or creature of any abiding principle (any soul), in the ideas of the diseases sores pains aches and ailments of the body that follow in the train of the necessary conditions of individuality, in the ideas of its dependence on others<sup>2</sup> and of its certain disintegration<sup>3</sup> in the ideas of the calamities, dangers, fears and misfortunes to which it is subject of its instability under the changing conditions of life of its liability to dissolution its want of firmness, its being no true place of refuge no cave of security no home of protection, no right object of trust of its vanity emptiness danger, and insubstantiality [419], of its being the source of pains and subject to punish

<sup>1</sup> Upâseti (only found here) Hīnañ kumburê, p. 622 has abhyâsa karanneya. He gives the whole passage from *katham maharâga yoginâ tatiyam angam gahetabbam* in Pâli and reads throughout *upâsatabbam* without the omissions

<sup>2</sup> Parato not in Childers, but see *Magghima Nikâya* I, 435 500 where all these expressions occur together

<sup>3</sup> Palokato from rug

ments<sup>1</sup> and full of impurity, a mongrel compound of conditions and qualities that have no coherence of its being the food alike of evil and of the Evil One<sup>2</sup> of its inherent liability to rebirths old age, disease, and death, to griefs lamentations despair, and of the corruption of the cravings and delusions that are never absent from it This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the archer he ought to have

18 'And again, O king just as the archer practises early and late, just so, O king should the strenuous Bhikshu earnest in effort, practise meditation early and late For it was said, O king by Sâriputta the Elder the Commander of the Faith

Early and late the true archer will practise,

It is only by never neglecting his art

That he earns the reward and the wage of his skill

So the sons of the Buddha too practise their art.

It is just by never neglecting in thought

The conditions of life in this bodily frame

That they gain the rich fruits which the Arahats love<sup>3</sup>

---

Here ends the fifth riddle the riddle of  
the archer

---

Here end the two hundred and sixty-two questions of Milinda, as handed down in the book in its six parts adorned with twenty-two chapters Now those which have not been handed down are forty-

---

<sup>1</sup> Vadhakato 'untrustworthy as the man who assassinates his friend' says Hīnaś kumburê, p 623

<sup>2</sup> Marāmisato, given by Hīnaś kumburê both in the Pāli and Sinhalese, but omitted by Mr. Trenckner (Mrityu-māra klesa mārayana āhāraya wa bawim.)

<sup>3</sup> Not traced as yet.

two<sup>1</sup> Taking together all those that have been and those that have not been, handed down there are three hundred plus four all of which are reckoned as 'Questions of Milinda'<sup>2</sup>

19 On the conclusion of this putting of puzzles and giving of solutions between the king and the Elder this great earth eighty four thousand leagues in extent, shook six times even to its ocean boundary, the lightnings flashed the gods poured down a rain fall of flowers from heaven Mahâ Brahmâ himself signified his applause, and there was a mighty roar like the crashing and thundering of a storm in the mighty deep And on beholding that wonder the five hundred high ministers of the king and all the inhabitants of the city of Sâgala who were there and the women of the king's palace, bowed down before Nagasena the great teacher raising their clasped hands to their foreheads and departed thence<sup>3</sup>

20 [420] But Milinda the king was filled with joy of heart, and all pride was suppressed within him And he became aware of the virtue that lay in the religion of the Buddhas he ceased to have any doubt at all in the Three Gems<sup>4</sup>, he tarried no longer in the jungle of heresy he renounced all obstinacy, and pleased beyond measure at the high

<sup>1</sup> There are only thirty eight in the list at VII, 1, 1

<sup>2</sup> Before these last sentences (Now those Milinda) Hīnaś kumburê has 'Here ends that mirror of the good law called, The Questions of Milinda Then he goes on as above

<sup>3</sup> I here follow Hīnaś kumburê who has apparently had a fuller text before him

<sup>4</sup> The Buddha his religion and his order

qualities of the Elder at the excellence of his manners befitting a recluse he become filled with confidence and free from cravings, and all his pride and self righteousness left his heart, and like a cobra deprived of its fangs he said Most excellent, most excellent venerable Nâgasena ! The puzzles worthy of a Buddha to solve, have you made clear There is none like you, amongst all the followers of the Buddha, in the solution of problems save only Sâriputta, the Elder, himself the Commander of the Faith Pardon me, venerable Nâgasena, my faults May the venerable Nâgasena accept me as a supporter of the faith as a true convert from to-day onwards as long as life shall last !

21 Thenceforward the king and his mighty men continued in paying honour to Nâgasena And the king had a Wihâra built called 'The Milinda Wihâra' and handed it over to Nâgasena the Elder, and waited upon him and all the multitude of the Arahats Bhikshus of whom he was the chief with the four requisites of the Bhikshus life And afterwards taking delight in the wisdom of the Elder he handed over his kingdom to his son, and abandoning the household life for the houseless state grew great in insight, and himself attained to Arahatship ! Therefore is it said

Wisdom is magnified o'er all the world,  
And preaching for the endurance of the Faith  
When they, by wisdom have put doubt aside  
The wise reach upward to that Tranquil State  
That man in whom wisdom is firmly set,  
And mindful self-possession never fails,  
He is the best of those who gifts receive  
The chief of men to whom distinction is given.



Let therefore able men in due regard  
 To their own welfare<sup>1</sup>, honour those who're wise —  
 Worthy of honour like the sacred pile  
 Beneath whose solid dome the bones of the great  
 dead lie<sup>2</sup>

---

Here ends the book of the puzzles and the  
 solutions of Milinda and Nāgasena<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This line is identical with the sixth line of the little poem on the gift of Wihāras preserved in the *Kullavagga* VI 1 5 and VI, 9, 2 and quoted as a whole in the *Gāṭaka*, book I, 93 and in part above IV 5 1. This line also occurs in a third connection at *Gāṭaka* IV 354.

<sup>2</sup> These verses differ from those here given by Hīnaśī kumburē which I have quoted in the Introduction to this volume.

<sup>3</sup> This closing title is omitted by Hīnaśī kumburē, who gives instead of it a second account of how he came to write his translation and then adds as the closing title to his own book. Here ends the *Srī Saddharmāḍāsaya* (the Mirror of the Good Law) made by Sīnaśī kumburē Sumangala the Elder. [Sīnaśī is merely the Eln form of the Sinhalese word Hīnaśī, which is the name of a plant *coryza sativa* and Hīnaśī kumburē is the locative of the name of the place Hīnaśī field where he was born. Every unnānsē in Ceylon has such a local name in addition to his religious name. And the religious names being often identical (there are, for instance, many Sumangalas) the Bhikkhus are usually spoken of by the former and not by the latter.]

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

### PART I

- xv For 'Mahâyâna read *Madhyamika*. There is a Nagasena mentioned in the Bharhut Tope
- , l 1 Read 'to Tissa the Elder, the son of the Moggall' The whole sentence had better perhaps have been rendered 'And these two also were foreseen by our Buddha (just as he foresaw Tissa the Elder the son of the Moggall'), in that he foretold saying, &c.
- o n 1 The phrase *Isi vâtam parivâtam nagaram akamsu* recurs at *Gâtaka* III 142 *Samanta Pasadikâ* 316, *Sad dhamma Sangaha* 41
- 2, n 1 Compare *Saddhamma Sangaha* p 42
- o, § 13 On the first simile, compare the *Samyutta Nikaya* XXII, 102, 7
- 6, last line For yoke read 'yolk
- 8 It would have been better perhaps to have avoided the use of the words 'where' and 'there, and to have rendered 'In the case of beings who having died, have been reborn elsewhere, time is In the case of beings who, having died, have not been reborn elsewhere, time is not. And in the case of beings, &c The three cases are those of the *Puthuggana* the *Arahat* when dead, and the *Arahat* alive My note refers to the third case not to the second, and should I think, be modified accordingly See *Samyutta Nikaya* III 12, 35, *Mahâ Parinibbâna Sutta* IV, 3, *Dhammapada*, verse 89 *Sutta Nipâta* II, 13, 1, 12, *Maggbuma Nikaya* I, 235, *Gâtaka* IV, 453 and compare *Udâna*, p 80.
- Hînaś kumburê* gives only a literal translation A similar question is discussed in the *Kathâ Vatthu* XV, 3
- 9, n 1 For 'chapter read 'book, p 39
- 27, l 16 After 'brought about' insert a comma
- 18 § 5 I now prefer 'initiation' instead of 'ordination' as the translation of *Upasampada*.
- 19 n 1 This interpretation is confirmed by part II, p 197
- 29, l 7 The phrase, though his hands and feet were cut off seems, at first sight, out of place. But compare part II, p 147
- o, l 2 Read 'and not accepting them.

- P 153 § 18. Read 'Ki#kâ and compare Gataka IV 189  
 , 164 (six lines from the bottom of the page) Read 'and then a subsequent ease to the pain he has given.  
 „ 176, § 39 In accordance with the note at part II pp 86 87 we must read a huge and mighty cauldron, full of water and crowded with grains of rice, is placed over a fireplace  
 , 179 On the problem of king Sivi and his new eyes, compare the question discussed in Katha Vatthu III, 7  
 , 229 n 1 l 6 For 'these read 'those  
 239 n 2 For 'But I never think' read 'But I now think  
 241 § 20 For 'The Master said, Nâgasena, read 'The Master said, O king  
 , 244, n 2 For 'Gatharaggi read 'Gatharaggi  
 278, n 1 For 'ad.ka read 'adika.'  
 „ 288, n 3 For 'purdhita read 'purohita  
 „ 290, n 2 This story which I could not trace is no doubt the one referred to in Kariya Piraka I, 7  
 291 l 22 Read Uposatha

## PART II

- P 27, last line but two Read 'kâma loka.  
 29 n 2, l 7 Read samsara  
 139 l 4 For sun and moon read 'moon and sun  
 , 148, two lines from the bottom. For 'O king read 'Sir  
 150 four lines from the bottom For 'destructions read 'distinctions.  
 „ 166 n 1 Read 'samâhato  
 „ 219 n 2 Read bhâvanâ  
 252 l 4 For 'pulling read 'putting'  
 , 271 n 1 Compare the Journal of the Pali Text Society 188,, p 155

# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Æsop's fables page 180  
 Āiravatī river 304  
 Āra Kālāma ascetic 43, 46  
 Alexandria 204 211 269  
 Āgirasa, physician 109  
 ngulimāla, robber 355  
 Anuruddha quoted, 296, 347, 351  
 Arūpakāyika, gods 188  
 Attha Sālīni xviii  
 Atula physician, 109  
 Avīki, purgatory 261  
 Bactria, 211  
 Bakkula 8-12  
 Barth M  
 Benares, district, 204, 211  
 Baddasāla general 147  
 Bharadvāja brahman 37  
 Bharukakka, country 211  
 Brahṃā, god 24  
 Buddhaghosa, 26 32 282  
 Burnouf, Eugène 6  
 China 204, 211, 269  
 Da Sylva Mr Lewis 181 foil  
 Devadatta 5  
 Dhaga, brahman 44  
 Dhammantari physician, 109  
 Dhanapāla, elephant, 248  
 Dhaniya, cowherd, 285  
 Divyavadhana, quoted 305  
 D Oldenbourg, S xi xvii  
 Ka sakaka brahman 147  
 ausboll, Professor 1, 4 16 31, 146  
 eer Léon, xvii  
 Gandhara country 204 211  
 Ganges, river 304  
 Garikāra, potter 21-25  
 Gopāla matā, queen 146  
 Goughs Philosophy of the Upani  
 shads, 142  
 Greeks 204, 256  
 Guttala, musician, 146

Gāli, prince, 131  
 Gotipāla, brahman 20  
 Hīnaī kumburē meaning of 375  
 Indasāla, cave 248  
 Jolly Professor 266  
 Jumna, river, 304  
 Kakkāyana, physician 109  
 Kalūga, 81  
 Kandaraggisama, physician, 109  
 Kanhagīna Vessantara's daughter,  
 125 131  
 Kapila, physician, 109  
 Kashmir, country 204 211  
 Kassapa the Buddha 21  
 Kathā Vatthu xx-xxvii  
 Kolaśśa, king 81  
 Koromandel coast 269  
 Kosala, country, 204 211  
 Korumbara, place 211  
 Kshemendra, xvi  
 Kakkhupāla, 9  
 Kandagutta kmg 147  
 Kandavatī, princess 18, 19.  
 Lakkhana, brahman 44  
 Levi Sylvan xii-xvii  
 Lomapāda, king, 17  
 Lomasa Kassapa, rishi, 16  
 Maddī, Vessantara's queen 125  
 Madhura, place, 211  
 Magadha, country 211  
 Māgandīya, ascetic, 183  
 Mahā Kakkāyana, elder 282  
 Maha Kassapa, elder, 330  
 Mahā Vamsa xviii  
 Mahī, river 304  
 Mandhātā king, 146  
 Mantī, brahman, 44  
 Milinda Wihara, 374  
 Moggallāna, therā, 36, 369

- Mogharāga the elder, 354  
 Morris, Rev Dr 5 22, 122, 361  
 Müller, Professor E, 128  
 Nanda, king, 147  
 Narada, the physician, 109  
 Nikumba, country 204  
 Nimi, king, 146  
 Panthaka elder, quoted, 284  
 Pindola Bhāradvāja, 335, 345  
 Punzaka, slave, 146  
 Rāhu demon 321  
 Rāhula, Gotama's son 290, 297, 317,  
 355, 361  
 Rāma, brahman, 44  
 Sabbamitta brahman 45  
 Sādhina, king 146  
 Sāgala, town 373  
 Saketa, place, 211  
 Sakka, god, 6 24 322 323  
 Samana Kolāṇḍa, king, 81  
 Sarabhū, river, 304  
 Sārupputta, therā 36 273, 280, 284  
 287, 292 293 294, 299, 302  
 329, 332, 333, 353, 357, 366,  
 372  
 Scythians 204 211  
 Sela, brahman, 25  
 Sineru, mountain, 24  
 Sovira, seaport, 269  
 Specht, E, xi-xiv  
 Subhaddā, quoted, 308 316  
 Subhoga, brahman, 44  
 Subhūti elder, 315 323  
 Sudatta, brahman 44  
 Suddhodana, king 45  
 Sumana, garland maker, 146  
 Surattba (Surat) 211, 269  
 Suyāma brahman, 44  
 Takkola, seaport 269  
 Tartary, 204  
 Tidasapura, in heaven 145  
 Trenckner, Mr, 13 29, 147, 175,  
 183 279 327  
 Turkey incense from 256  
 Udāyi, 6  
 Uddaka Ramaputta, ascetic 46  
 Udena king, 146  
 Udikka, country, 45  
 Uggen, country, 211  
 Upāli, the elder, 368  
 Upasena Vangantaputta, 268 269  
 289, 326 328 329 331  
 Uposatha, elephant, 128  
 Vanga, seaport, 269  
 Vaṅḡsa quoted, 322  
 Vasubandhu xvii  
 Veraṅga, town 37  
 Vessantara, 114-132 125  
 Vilāta country, 211  
 Yanna brahman 44

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- Agriculture details of, pages 269, 270  
 Anchor simile of 299  
 Animals, list of 101  
 Ant, simile of the white 326  
 Arahats —  
   laymen may become, 57 96 245  
   suffer bodily but never mental pain, 75  
   how far they can do wrong 98-100 or be ignorant 100  
   way to Arahatship confused with way to Buddhahood, 141  
   produce wonders at their graves 174  
   the thirty-seven constituent qualities of Arahatship, 207 218, 264  
   the seven jewels of the Arahats, 220-229  
   are the judges in the City of Righteousness, 235  
   no Arahatship without the vows, 254,  
   description of the Arahats character 272 273  
 Archery, full details of, 253 254 370  
 Arithmetic 149  
 Asceticism, 60-62  
 Ass, riddle of 279  
 Assurance final, 226  
 Backsliders 63-75  
 Bamboo, simile of, 290  
 Bat, compared to the Arahats, 346  
 Bathing 63  
 Begging forbidden to the members of the Buddhist Order, 33, allowed, 35  
 Boar, simile of, 334  
 Body, ten characteristics of the, 75  
 Bow, simile of, 291  
 Brahmans, 21, 26-28 41  
 Bull, simile of, 333  
 Carpenter, riddle of, 361  
 Carts, parts of 49  
 Cat, simile of, 326  
 Champion, in battle 149  
 Charity public feasts 65 68  
 Children no conversion of, 178  
 Chinese books on Milinda, xi-xv  
 Cloth manufacture processes of, 52  
 Cock, simile of 280  
 Confession, the one true 55  
 Conversion, who cannot reach, 177  
 Corpse the ocean does not keep a, 70  
   Corpse Dance 147  
 Counties, list of, 53  
 Crane (Indian) a bird of ill omen, 345  
 Crow riddle of, 291  
 Dead, offerings for the 151  
 Death premature 162-174.  
 Debt, deposit of son as pledge for 122  
 Deer simile of, 331  
 Diamond polishing 7, figuratively of knowledge, 229 has three qualities of the Arahats, 357  
 Diseases 8, 10, 62 causes of fatal 164  
 Dreams 157-162  
 'Drink of Triumph, 16  
 Drugs, magical, 129  
 Earth, simile of, 307  
 Elephant the mystic royal 128 and frog parable of 180 which attacked the Buddha, 248 has five qualities of the Arahats, 335  
 Emancipation, the chief jewel of the Arahats 225  
 Evil One, the, 55  
 Fairies &c, various kinds of, 101  
 Faith, the one true, 55

- Final assurance 226  
 Fire, by attrition, 203  
 Fire, simile of 311  
 Fireplaces, form of, 86  
 Fisherman, riddle of, 360  
 Food, moderation in, 4-7  
 Friendship of the world 1  
 Frog and elephant, parable of, 180  
 Gem, the mystic royal, 14 128 the  
   wish conferring, 59 74, 119,  
   193 258  
 Gifts how sanctified 82-84  
 God, the only one, 50  
 Gourd, simile of 294  
 Graves, wonders at, 174 foll  
 Gravitation 80  
 Gypsies, 87  
 'Head Holocaust' 147  
 Heredity 21  
 Household cares 1  
 Hunter, has four qualities of the  
   Arahat, 358  
 Hyenas 101  
 Iddhi, 94 96 117 231 234, 259, 267  
 Impermanence law of 102  
 Imputed righteousness, 153-156  
 Iron, 102, 364  
 Jackal, simile of 329  
 Jasmine the best of flowers, 73  
 Karma 11 22 38 93 95, 103 108,  
   145-149, 163 213 214 230  
 Kings, their courtiers, &c 41 265;  
   force of their example, 42  
   will fail if unworthy 69 262  
   custody of their seal, 124, seven  
   mystic treasures of 203, six  
   royal insignia of, 207 powers  
   and perquisites of, 266 270  
   king has four qualities of the  
   Arahat 323  
 Kingship of the Buddha, explained,  
   26-30  
 Knowledge, Buddhist, described  
   223  
 Landowners, 15  
 Laymen, can become Arahats, 57,  
   96, why admitted at once (be  
   fore conversion) into the Order  
   63-70 when they cannot enter  
   the path, 78  
 Leech, why like the Arahat, 347  
 Lion simile of, 3, 8  
 Looking glass, simile of 158  
 Lotus simile of, 70, 189, 222, 256,  
   295  
 'Lower state' the 63-75  
 Madness, wrong done in 18 19  
 Magic. See Gem Root and Drugs.  
 Mankind will all become by nature  
   pure, 95  
 Mast, simile of 300  
 Matriarchate, 127 note  
 Medicine (see Diseases) —  
   tonic, use of 7,  
   purge preparation for, 33,  
   diagnosis 64, 67,  
   medicine of Nirvāṇa, 65 190, of  
   the vows, 256,  
   a specific for all diseases, 67,  
   the internal fire (for digestion) 97  
   list of old teachers of 109  
   various divisions of medical know-  
   ledge 109  
   verses on 218, 219  
   training in surgery, 255  
   riddle about, 368  
 Meditation various sorts of, 212,  
   213 qualities of 222  
 Minister of State 147 and see Seal  
 Miracles, why the Buddhas work  
   none, 24  
 Monkey, simile of, 292  
 Moon simile of, 318  
 Moon worship, 127  
 Mongoose, simile of, 329  
 Nihilism, the explanation of Bud-  
   dhist, 102, modern theories  
   of, 142  
 Nirvāṇa is medicine, 65, 190,  
   like space is without a cause, 103,  
   107  
   is unproducible, 102  
   is not put together of any quali-  
   ties 103  
   has no colour or form, 107,  
   what it is 181 note,  
   has no pain involved in it, 181-185  
   has no form or duration or mea-  
   sure, 186-188  
   its qualities explained by similes,  
   189-195,  
   how it can be known 196,  
   how attained to, 197-201,  
   where attained to, 202-205  
 Offerings for the dead 151



- Order the Buddhist —  
 description of true member of,  
 5 9  
 the guilty member of, purifies gifts,  
 82, 83  
 every member of, will reach Ara-  
 hatship *ibid*  
 why they should trouble them-  
 selves with study and the busi-  
 ness of the Order 92  
 why the rules of were laid down  
 gradually 110  
 description at length of the ideal  
 member 271-273  
 Owl has two qualities of the Ara-  
 hat, 344
- Panther, similes of, 285
- Path, the ancient and the new,  
 13-19
- Patriarchal power to sell son, 122
- Penance 141
- Physician the Great 8 description  
 of an able 67
- Pigeon how like the Arahāt 344
- Pilot, simile of 301
- Pledge 122
- Poison 80, 81
- Pupils duties of to teachers, 185
- Rain, why like the Arahāt, 356
- Rat simile of, 328
- Rebirth 22 8,
- Recluse See Order
- Relationship, terminology of, in  
 Pali, different from ours, 51
- Rice sorts of 73, riddle about,  
 367
- Righteousness imputed 153-156
- Rock simile of, 314
- Root, with magical powers, 119
- Sailor, simile of 30
- Sal tree, simile of 296
- Sandal wood, simile of 74
- Sap of Life 37
- Scorpion riddle of 328
- Sea simile of, 303-306
- Seal, the great, state custody of, 124
- Seasons 103, 112
- Seed, riddle of 296
- Ship, simile of, 297
- Sleep, theory of 161
- Snakes, similes of 348 349
- Sons may be sold or pledged, 122
- Space, simile of 316
- Spider simile of 351
- Squirrel simile of, 284.
- Sun heat of how mitigated 111  
 hotter in winter than summer  
 112 has seven qualities of the  
 Arahāt 320
- Sunshade riddle of, 365
- Sun worship later than moon wor-  
 ship 127
- Teachers, the five of the Buddha,  
 44-46 the Buddha has no 6  
 43, 46
- Tortoise, similes of 288 352
- Toys various, 32
- 'Tree of Wisdom, 81
- Trees, how like the Arahāt 355
- Wage earners despised, 210
- Water simile of 309
- Water Soul in, 85-91
- Waterpots, curious form of, 86  
 adage of 364
- Weapons the five kinds of, 227  
 seven kinds of, 250
- Weaving processes of 52
- Wheel, the mystic royal 137
- Wiharas, merit of building, 3
- Wind simile of 312
- Wonders at the graves of saints  
 174 foll.
- Writing, 9, 247

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2

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4

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